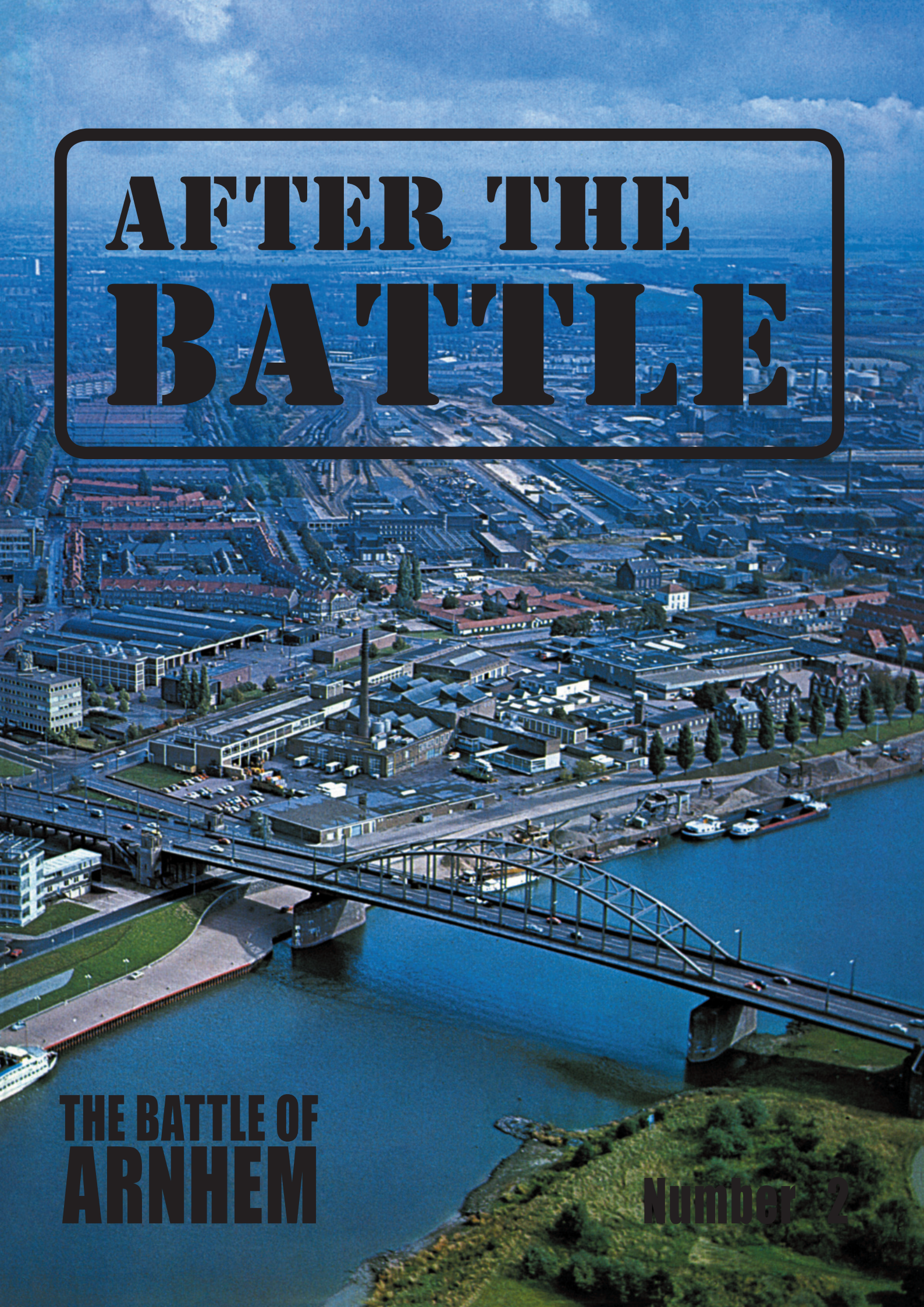
AFTER THE BATTLE



THE BATTLE OF ARNHEM

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CONTENTS

ARNHEM
Main force — attack and defence 9
The evacuation 21
Arnhem VCs 23

NUREMBERG
The rallies 29
The battle 37
The trial 41

PRESERVATION
Royal Small Arms Pattern Room 42

UNITED KINGDOM & WAR FILM
The escapes of Franz von Werra 44

PERSONALITY
Major Glenn Miller 51

WRECK RECOVERY
Raising the XE8 52

Front Cover: *After the Battle* photograph of Arnhem road bridge in September 1973.

Centre Pages: A Beaufighter on a desert airstrip (IWM).

Back Cover: The Zeppelinwiese being prepared for a motor race: winners collect their trophy from Hitler's platform.

Right: A British paratrooper.

The editor is indebted to the authors and publishers of the following books to quote extracts:

The Nuremberg Party Rallies: 1923-39 by Hamilton T. Burden, Pall Mall Press, London.

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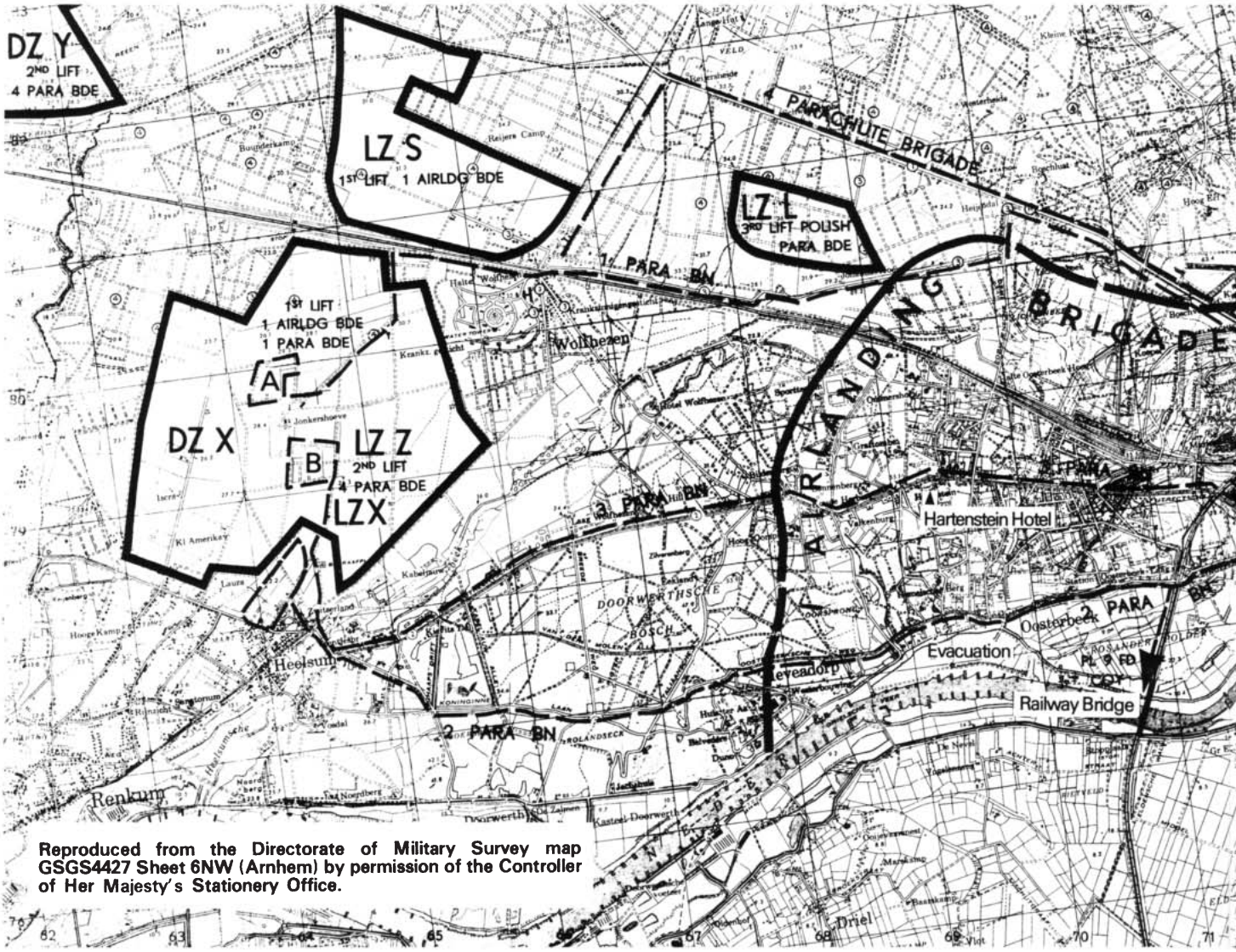
ARNHEM

Following the Battle of Normandy, the stalemate of the bridgehead was broken on July 27, 1944 by a massive breakout at Avranches led by General George S. Patton. Within days, the 3rd US Army was streaming across France. On August 25, Field Marshall Montgomery's 21st Army Group crossed the Seine and began its advance through Northern France, Belgium and Holland. The Meuse-Escaut Canal was reached on September 11. By this date also, the beginnings of a rift in the Allied Command, between the British and US Forces became apparent, with both Montgomery and Patton pressing for priority of supplies, especially petrol.

Montgomery's plan for a swift advance through Holland, together with airborne landings to secure bridges over the five major rivers and canals on the route, was reluctantly approved by the Supreme Allied Commander, Eisenhower, in a meeting at Brussels airfield on September 10. The operation was given the codename ''Market Garden''—it was to result in one of the most heroic defeats of the British Army—the Battle of Arnhem.

The main purpose of the airborne landings at Arnhem was to capture the bridge over the Neder Rijn. Whilst not wanting to minimise the efforts of any troops involved by not describing the actions leading up to this, we have concentrated on the battle for the bridge as this was the object of the attack.

Above: Sergeant Dennis M. Smith, aged 24, of the Army Film and Photographic unit, took this picture of the first troops landing on September 17, 1944. (IWM). Centre: Landing Zone Z, an empty field in 1973 retains the same shape except for a small wood in the centre, compared with 1944. Note the repaired farmhouse. Left: Landing Zone Z in September 1944. (IWM).



Reproduced from the Directorate of Military Survey map GSGS4427 Sheet 6NW (Arnhem) by permission of the Controller of Her Majesty's Stationery Office.

Above: Troops pictured by Sergeant Smith, advancing on the Utrechtseweg, (IWM) and our comparison taken in 1973. The Dutch style cobbles and trees have been removed and replaced with a wide asphalt road. The Utrechtseweg at this point, now consists of long stretches of fast road with sweeping bends, leading into Oosterbeek.

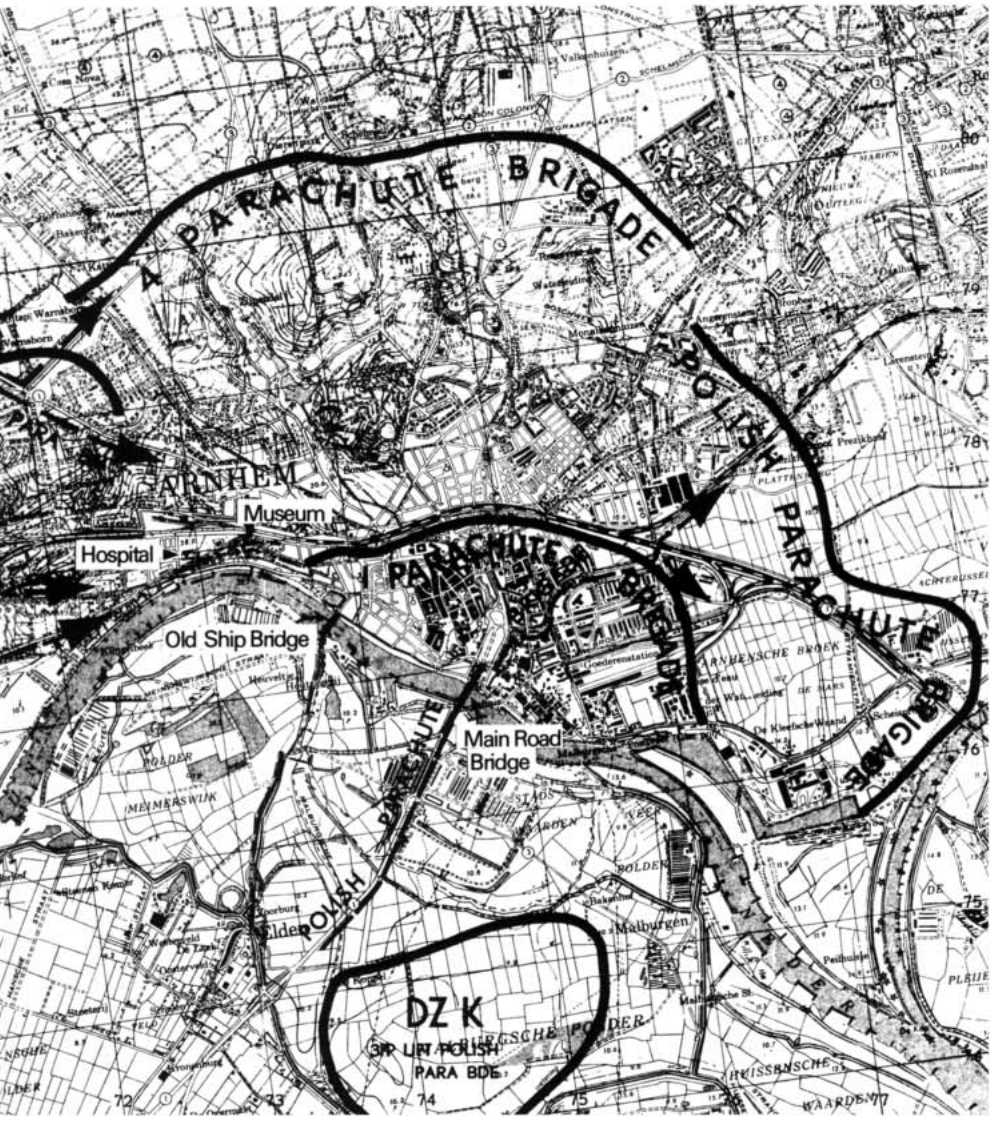
THE DEFENCES

Although this article covers the Battle of Arnhem, operation Market Garden was a much wider operation. The airborne landings further south and the advance of the British Second Army to relieve the 1st Airborne Division at Arnhem, will be covered in detail in a future issue of *After the Battle.*

Advance intelligence on the strength of the German forces in the Arnhem area was far from clear. By September 17, it was estimated that 70,000 Germans with 400 guns had retreated into southern Holland. Dutch Resistance reports of SS tank formations in the area were discounted, although it was known that the main training area for Tiger tanks was situated north of Apeldoorn, 20 miles away, and reconnaissance photographs proved the existence of tanks in the area.

So far, the 1st Airborne Division had had 17 previous operations planned and cancelled since Normandy, (in which their rivals the 6th Airborne took part) and this had resulted in an eagerness to get into the war at almost any cost.

The RAF on the other hand, had seen



plenty of fighting, and the reports of fearsome anti-aircraft defences at Arnhem bridge (in this case also incorrect), led them to reject a coup-de-main landing at the bridge itself, which had proved so successful in Normandy, and chose a landing area eight miles west of the town. This would mean that, although some jeeps would be landed, the majority of troops would have to march between five and eight miles to their objectives. The advantage of surprise would be lost and, because of insufficient air transport being available, considerable forces would have to be left to guard the landing grounds for the arrival of the second and third waves of reinforcements.

The German forces in the area were commanded by Field Marshal Model, whose headquarters staff were installed at the Tafelberg and Hartenstein Hotels.

THE PLAN

The operation was to start on September 17. The primary task of the Division was the capture of the three Arnhem bridges over the Neder Rijn. The secondary task was to establish a bridgehead to enable the troops of 30 Corps advancing from Nijmegan to deploy north of the Neder Rijn. The third task was to do everything possible to destroy the anti-aircraft defences in the dropping zone (DZ) and landing zone (LZ) areas to ensure safe landing for subsequent air lifts.

The 1st Airborne Division, commanded by Major-General R. E. Urquhart, was to comprise the following units for the initial landing:—

1st Parachute Brigade Group commanded by Brigadier G. W. Lathbury.
1st Airlanding Brigade (in gliders) commanded by Brigadier P. H. W. Hicks.

Basically it was the task of the parachutists to leave the landing grounds quickly and advance to capture the bridges, whilst the following glider-borne troops were to secure the landing-grounds, establish positions on the main roads and to protect the arrival of the second lift.

The first landings were to be at 2.00 p.m.

The second landings, comprising the 4th Parachute Brigade Group commanded by Brigadier J. W. Hackett, and the balance of the divisional troops, was to land in the early morning of the next day. Their task was to occupy the north of Arnhem and defend the landing zone for the Polish troops who would land in the third air lift. Meanwhile this would free the Airlanding Brigade troops from guarding the landing area, who would then be free to move to Arnhem.

THE BRIDGES

The three bridges over the Neder Rijn river were as follows:— A road bridge, a huge arched iron construction, completed in July 1934. It had been destroyed by the Dutch on May 10, 1940 to try to slow the advance of the Germans in their attack on the Western Front, and had been blown completely off its pier one end into the river. The Germans had rebuilt it in its original style by the time of the attack in 1944. Because in 1934, the approach ramp had been constructed between existing houses in Arnhem, these were very close to the road, which proved significant in the ensuing battle.

Below: The present railway bridge taken from the south bank of the Neder Rijn. Bottom: This is where the ship bridge used to cross the river and opposite, is the site of the small harbour, now filled in.

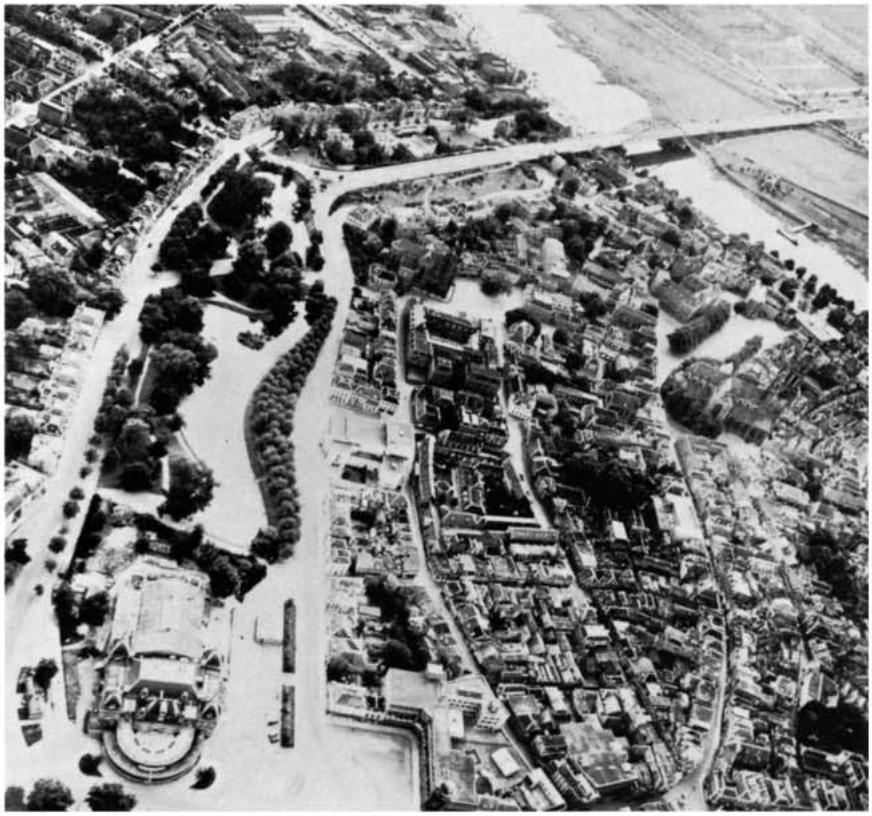
An earlier floating ship bridge had been built in the 19th century and was used by road traffic to cross the river into Arnhem. This was a few hundred yards to the west of the new bridge and is often referred to, incorrectly, as a German pontoon bridge. It did have a floating centre section of roadway which could be towed out of the way when ships or barges approached, which was then replaced.

Further up the river at Oosterbeek was the railway bridge with long raised approaches. The attacking troops landing on the Western extremities, would therefore reach the rail bridge first, then the floating bridge and finally the new road bridge.

As it was anticipated that the Germans may blow the bridges plans were laid to guard against this possibility.

The first precaution was the capture of a ferryboat which was based at Heveadorp together with any barges, with the assistance of Royal Engineers.

Also provision was made for the conversion of the railway bridge into a road bridge, the construction of six raft sites and two floating Bailey bridges. The latter were stored at Bourg Leopold and bridging columns prepared, in the case of the Neder Rijn, comprising of 536 vehicles of the Royal Engineers and Royal Army Service Corps. This stock-piling of the Bailey sections necessitated the dismantling of bridges constructed earlier over the Seine, and the sending of further supplies from England via Dieppe.



SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 17
THE LANDINGS

In the morning the RAF had bombed selected targets in the outskirts of Arnhem, notably the Mental Hospital at Wolfheze, and just before noon the Willem and Saksen-Weimar barracks and other buildings in Arnhem itself during a 15 minute raid. Two thousand aircraft had taken off from twenty-two airfields in England during the morning and more than 300 gliders started landing on the appointed zones at H-Hour followed by the parachutists dropping from C-47 Dakotas. SHAEF headquarters leaflets were also dropped warning the Dutch people of the impending battle.

The landing was virtually unopposed. The troops, welcomed with open arms by the local populace, who offered drinks and fruit, were delayed in assembling and relaxed in the absence of enemy resistance.

The outline plan for the attack with the dropping zones is shown in the map on pages 2 and 3.

THE RACE FOR THE BRIDGES

One of the contributing factors to the failure of the attack soon became apparent—the radio equipment supplied did not prove adequate for the distances involved and was affected by the wooded terrain. When troops entered the town, high buildings screened the aerials and in spite of every effort to site these as high as possible, failure of communications between the various units, who rapidly became split up and fragmented, prevented an organised overall control of the battle from HQ.

It was intended that the reconnaissance squadron assisted by 9th Field Company would race to the road bridge in jeeps. In the confusion of the unloading of the gliders and assembling it was found that all the jeeps had not arrived, and Major Gough, the commander, and his men were unable to leave.

Therefore, at 2.45 p.m., the 2nd Battalion, under Colonel Frost, moved off first by the southerly route.

The route taken by Colonel Frost was exactly that laid down in the outline plan shown on the map on pages 2 and 3.

It ran from the landing ground through Heelsum along Koninginne Laan — Oude Oosterbeekseweg — Benedendorpsweg — Klingelbeekseweg — Hulkesteinseweg — Onder Langs — Oude Kraan — Roermondsplein — Rijn Kade and Oranjewachtstraat to the bridge.

On the way Colonel Frost despatched 'C' company who were to capture the railway bridge, the first bridge they would reach, whilst he himself pressed on to the main road bridge.

As 'C' Company commanded by Major Dover approached the bridge, a machine gun opened fire from the southern bank of the river. A smoke screen was laid and the leading platoon, under Lieutenant Barry began to walk on the sleepers towards the south bank. Suddenly an enormous explosion shook the bridge and the southern span collapsed into the river, wounding Lieutenant Barry and two of his men.

'A' Company came under heavy fire from Germans emplaced on high ground called Den Brink, to the left past the railway bridge. Leaving 'B' Company to engage the Germans and follow when they could. Colonel Frost with his Headquarters Company and 'A' Company, pressed on to the bridge.

As dusk was falling, Colonel Frost's party, moving down Weerdjestraat past the ship bridge through the Eusebiusplein, came within sight of the road bridge. It appeared undamaged and German transport on it was moving south. Without firing a shot they managed to barricade themselves in the houses on either side of the northern approach ramp much against the wishes of the Dutch owners. Some Royal Engineers under Captain Mackay joined him in one of the buildings. Major Gough then arrived with part of the delayed reconnaissance squadron which had been ambushed en route.

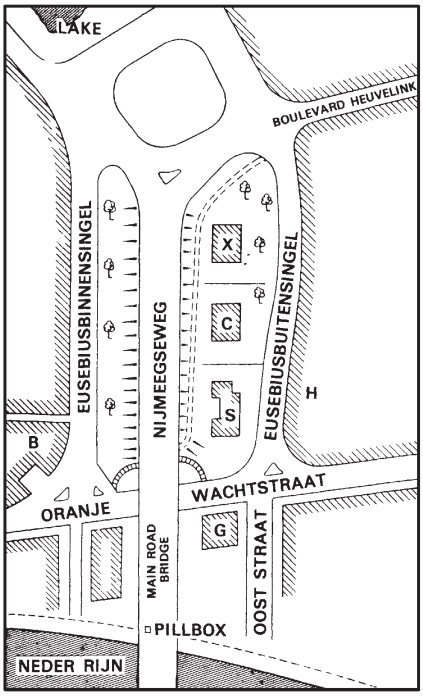
The map shows the layout of the houses at the north end of the bridge. House (G) was occupied by the 2nd Battalion and (H) by Royal Engineers under Lieutenant Hindley, signallers and RASC.

An interesting anecdote has been given by Colonel Frost who saw a single figure outside

Above and Below: A remarkable comparison of the road bridge area in which Colonel Frost's men fought. The top reconnaisance photograph taken before the fighting started (IWM), and our comparison photograph 29 years later. The editor hopes his pilot didn't lose his license for flying over Arnhem at 400ft! At least there was no flak. Both photographs taken looking south. Clearly seen in our comparison photograph is the Airborne Square roundabout, and the new buildings at the north end of the bridge.

his Battalion headquarters building on the corner of Oranjewachstraat (B). He asked a soldier to go and ask him if he was a member of the Dutch Resistance. The soldier came back to say that he wasn't a member of the Resistance and that 'he says he's Panzer SS'!

This was confirmed when a patrol was sent over the bridge to take the other end. Lieutenant McDermot took 15 men up the embankment from where they had established their position under the approach ramp supports. The patrol was repulsed by fire from a pill-box and an armoured car, which fired from the far end. A second attempt to cross the bridge was made by a patrol under Lieutenant Grayburn, which is described later, and for which he was awarded the Victoria Cross.



Attempts were then made by the Germans to approach from the southern end, both in lorries and on foot, all of which were successfully beaten back, the Germans leaving burning vehicles behind them.

The troops at the bridge, numbering 400, were now cut off from the rest of the force to the west, and attempts to send messages through failed.

Frost first decided to try and deal with the pill-box using a flame thrower, and two engineers were detailed. They crawled up the embankment with the equipment and opened fire on the slit in the pill-box. The flame missed and set fire to some wooden huts at its rear which exploded with a tremendous roar setting fire to the paintwork on the bridge.

Captain Mackay, in charge of the Royal Engineers, had taken over the house marked (C) and the school (S) on the east side of the

Top: The road bridge with the ship bridge and harbour on the left, photographed by the RAF, September 10, 1944. The buildings on the map below can clearly be seen. (Crown Copyright).
Above: The burnt out half-tracks on the bridge. The pill-box is level with the first house on the left. (IWM).
Below: The bridge in 1973.

Top: British soldiers race through the Eusebiusplein on their way to the bridge. Above: The intervening buildings have been demolished, and one can see from our comparison taken September 1973, how near they were to their objective. Top right: Colonel Frost (Airborne Museum).

ramp with about 25 men in each.

Soon after its occupation house (C) was heavily attacked and it was discovered that the house (X) was a German HQ. Because of this, house (C) was evacuated, and the men transferred to the school.

At 9.30 a.m. the next day, Monday 18th, a convoy of 16 armoured cars and half-tracks approached the British positions, which overlooked both sides of the ramps, from the southern end of the bridge. Fire was held until the two armoured cars had passed the buildings and reached the roundabout. Then, from both sides of the ramp, fire from machine guns, Piats, mortars and other weapons attacked the vehicles. The school first floor windows were on a level with the ramp and about 12 feet away, and it was possible to lob grenades into the open backs of the half-tracks. Vehicles were set on fire and those Germans that tried to escape were cut down. Not one of the enemy escaped the attack. One half-track tried to escape down a path between the school and the ramp. Captain Mackay, looking out of the school window, came face to face with the German Commander who quickly fired three shots from his Luger. One shot hit Mackay's binoculars before the commander and his crew were riddled with bullets. The half-track crashed into the school. During the attack the foresights had been shot off a rifle and Bren gun being fired without the operators being hurt!

Following this unsuccessful German attack, mortar fire increased and shelling from south of the river began to destroy houses. Machine guns and cannons raked the buildings.

The only artillery support Frost could call on was being fired from a position at Oosterbeek and ammunition for the guns and for Frost's mortars was limited. Further attacks were driven off but one on the Monday afternoon had to be repelled with fierce house-to-house fighting with bayonets.

By now several of the houses were burning and attempts by the troops to get provisions, which they could see in the half-track by the school were met with intense fire. The half-track was set on fire and that night their precious water supply had to be held ready in case the fire spread. Building (C) caught fire and burning fragments were blown on to the school roof which began to smoulder. The efforts of the Engineers in the school were rewarded and the fire-fighters, under con-

Below: The burnt-out school with one of the half-tracks where Captain Mackay and his men fought, photographed 'after the battle'.

tinual small-arms fire, managed to stop the flames spreading.

The Germans put in an attack on the headquarters building which was repulsed with a bayonet charge.

The cellars of the buildings were crowded with the wounded and the two doctors and a padre worked non-stop.

Colonel Frost had managed to contact Divisional HQ (now at the Hartenstein Hotel) but although he was told that reinforcements had been sent to the bridge, none arrived. He sent two platoons to try to break through and open a path for the reinforcements to get through to the bridge, but these efforts were defeated by tanks and self-propelled guns.

Early on Tuesday morning, 19th, a heavy German anti-tank gun fired a shot against the south-west corner of the school, blowing the corner of the building off and part of the roof. Whilst the wounded were being taken to the basement some 60 Germans arrived in the street outside and began to set up machine guns. Captain Mackay and his men quietly stood by the windows with grenades ready, with others providing a chain for more. On a given signal, the grenades were thrown and Sten guns opened fire on the street below. During the battle a keen sergeant threw a grenade which hit the top of the window and bounced back—fortunately exploding in a corner doing no harm.

In the cellars beneath the buildings the wounded, lying in increasing numbers, were joined at intervals by captured German prisoners.

Captain Mackay himself was wounded in the head and also had a piece of metal he could not dislodge pinning his foot to his boot.

During the day the house marked (G) changed hands several times. The enemy were infiltrating the houses north of (H). The Germans then set fire to the northernmost house and the fire quickly spread to the others in the row. Lieutenant Hindley had to evacuate the building and move to house (G) which was in the hands of the 2nd Battalion.

At 3.30 p.m. an Fw 190 approached from the south and bombed the school. The pilot was so enthusiastic that his wing hit the spire of the church nearby and he crashed into the small lake behind the roundabout to the cheers of the troops.

At 7.00 p.m. a Tiger Tank appeared from the northern roundabout and stopped on the ramp 25 yards from the school. Its 88mm gun fired two shells at the school. Luckily men had been withdrawn from the rooms hit and only minor injuries were caused. It then turned its gun on the houses on the west side and then backed away down the ramp.

On the morning of Wednesday 20th, Colonel Frost was hit in both legs whilst preparing to send a fighting patrol to the north. He was carried downstairs to the cellar and command was taken over by Major Gough.

During the day more tanks appeared which now fired at will at the ruined buildings. Nothing could be done to stop them, but infantry attacks were still repulsed.

Three Bren gun carriers tried to break through from the west with supplies and ammunition but two were destroyed and the third forced to turn back.

The defenders in house (G) were forced out but continued in hand to hand fighting under the spans of the bridge. By 2.30 p.m. they had been driven out but continued to counter-attack to prevent the Germans setting demolition charges on the piers.

To the defenders resisting in the school, the 2nd Battalion seemed finished, but then a Tiger Tank and self-propelled gun opened fire on the school itself, which soon caught fire. Captain Mackay finally had to give the order to evacuate it, by then there were only 14 men left. The 31 wounded were surrendered and

Below: The burnt-out buildings on the west of the bridge after the surrender — Colonel Frost's HQ is the building on the left. Note the spires of St. Walburgis church hit by the German aircraft.

Right: Now the site is occupied by the tax office. Inset: Captain Mackay.

the remainder, with Captain Mackay, burst into the open where two tanks and 50 Germans were lined up.

Firing from the hip they split into groups and ran into gardens behind ruined walls. Captain Mackay removed his badges of rank, destroyed his identity card, and fell to the ground exhausted. He pretended to be dead. A German approached, and, not satisfied ran his bayonet through him, which Mackay says 'came to rest with a jar against my pelvis. When he withdrew it, the most painful part, I got to my feet. I was then led past the place where we had our last battle with my hands on my head.'

With the capture of these last troops and the loss of the school, Colonel Frost now knew the end was near. Over 200 wounded men were being looked after in the cellars of his headquarters building, and when the flames threatened to engulf the building, Colonel Frost was persuaded to ask for a cease-fire to enable the wounded to be surrendered.

When the last wounded soldier was taken away the battle began again—there were only about 150 men capable of fighting—and it was decided to split into two parties which at dawn on Thursday 21 would occupy a group of ruined buildings on the river bank.

The next morning the Germans began the operation to clear out the defenders. Panzer grenadiers advanced street by street, throwing stick grenades through windows and firing sub-machine guns. The fighting was decribed by a German soldier as 'fanatical'.

By 9.00 a.m. the area was cleared—the defenders had survived for three days and nights against incredible odds, without help or reinforcements.

The last message transmitted was not received by the British headquarters—only the German—it ended with the words 'God save the King'.

Captain Mackay was taken with Captain Simpson of the Royal Engineers and two corporals to a prison camp at Emmerich just inside the German border.

At 10.00 a.m. the next day, Friday, with the silk map Mackay had managed to retain, they planned their escape.

The corporals prised loose the bars of the cookhouse and that evening they got out, followed by fourteen other prisoners. The party travelled across country towards the Rhine. The next day was spent in a hut on the river bank and that night they stole a boat from a barge and set off down the river towards Nijmegan which they hoped had been captured by the British and Americans advancing from the south.

They reached Nijmegan in the early hours of Saturday 23 and a few hours later were at 30 Corps headquarters.

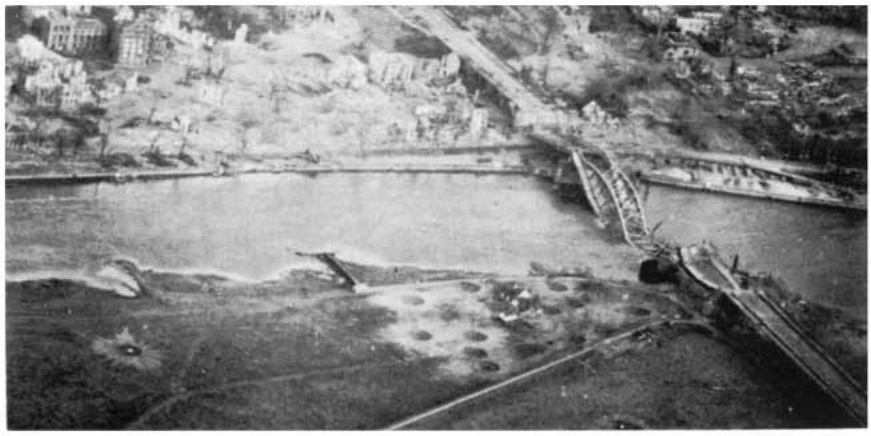
The road bridge was blown after the evacuation by the Germans, in October 1944, to stop the supposed advance of the Allies from the south. In actual fact the Allies did not enter Arnhem again until 1945. The ruined buildings were still standing around the north end of the bridge. These were pulled down shortly after the end of the war and the land remained waste ground until the Government Tax Office was built in 1969 on the site of Colonel Frost's headquarters. The land on the east side where the school stood has been cleared and remains as a grassy embankment to the approach ramp.

Bailey bridges were erected and used to cross the river after the war until the road bridge was rebuilt to the exact style of the blown bridge.

The ship bridge, which did not play a major part in the battle, was removed after the war and the small harbour in front of the Oude Kraan filled in.

The rail bridge which was blown up in the face of Colonel Frost's men was temporarily repaired after the war by sections of London's Waterloo Bridge and Bailey panels. This was replaced in 1948 by the present bridge.

Above: On September 17, 1945, this damaged pillar from the Palace of Justice was unveiled by the Dutch Governor of the Province, in the presence of 200 men of the 1st Airborne Division. (IWM).
Below: The Airborne Square 1973. Now lowered, because of the construction of the new roundabout with under-passes for cyclists, the pillar is photographed by the editor's son.
Bottom: The bridge photographed by the RAF on November 4, 1944, after the Germans had blown it. (Crown Copyright).



Above: From 20,000 ft, this is how Arnhem looked from the air on September 19, at the height of the battle. Smoke drifts from burning houses by the bridge and around the St. Elisabeth Hospital and Museum. The demolished railway bridge can be seen. The Hartenstein Hotel is to the right of the oval running track at the extreme top of the photograph. (Crown Copyright).

Main force–attack and defence

The 3rd Parachute Battalion, under the command of Brigadier Lathbury, assembled in a wood south of Jonkershoeve marked (B) on the map and then started their advance to Arnhem on the centre road, the Utrechtseweg. At 4.00 p.m. the leading platoon reached the crossroads where the roads from Wolfheze and Doorwerth meet. Most of the men were across the junction when a German staff car, a camouflaged Citroen, came racing down the road from Wolfheze. The driver realised his mistake, but whilst he was still skidding to a halt, the parachutists opened fire with Stens and rifles from both sides of the road. The car and driver were riddled with bullets. Major-General Kussin, Arnhem Field Commander, the front seat passenger, was shot as he opened the door and an interpreter and orderly in the back seat were shot as they jumped out of the car.

The troops, leaving the bodies where they lay, pressed on, but the crossroads then came under heavy German mortar fire.

Divisional Headquarters had first been established on the eastern edge of Landing Zone (Z) under the lee of Wolfheze woods. General Urquhart soon found that the wireless sets could not keep him in contact with any of the units, so he started after Colonel

Below: The point marked B on the map on pages 2 and 3, where the 3rd Parachute Battalion assembled, photographed in September 1973.

Frost in his jeep which was equipped with a radio set and signaller.

After reaching the rear of the 2nd Battalion, he left word for Colonel Frost, who was up front leading his men, to press on to the bridge.

Urquhart on his return then reached the 3rd Battalion under fire at the crossroads. As he was returning to his jeep it was hit by a mortar bomb, damaging the radio and wounding the signaller.

Concerned that he was rapidly losing control of the battle, Urquhart stayed with the 3rd Battalion. He spent the night in a house in Oosterbeek.

During that time a patrol entered the grounds of the Hartenstein Hotel in Oosterbeek which Field Marshal Model's staff had hurriedly left the previous day. They entered the building through the cellars and, in the dining room, found a long table laid with places for lunch with food still on the table.

At 3.00 a.m. General Urquhart awoke and joined Brigadier Lathbury and the Battalion. Although the enemy fire was not heavy, the advance, now using the route of the 2nd Battalion, continued painfully slowly until formidable opposition was encountered at the St. Elisabeth Hospital, halfway between Oosterbeek and the bridge, consisting of tanks and self-propelled guns.

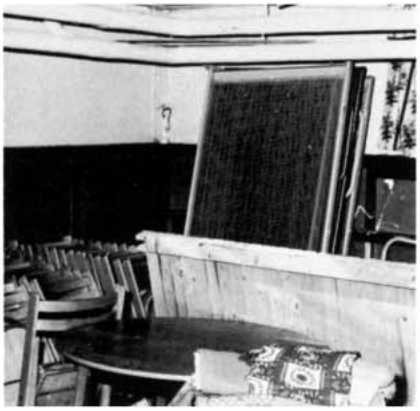
The advance fragmented and fighting broke out in side streets. The troops took to the houses and German tanks roamed the streets. Confusion reigned everywhere.

The Divisional and Brigade Commanders, with the breakdown of communications, were completely out of touch with the situation as they sheltered in a three-storey house in the middle of the fighting. By mid-morning things got much worse. The Germans had complete control of the streets using their tanks and self-propelled guns. As the Battalion had very few anti-tank guns with which to fight back Urquhart decided he must try to get himself and Brigadier Lathbury out before the enemy closed in.

Lathbury threw a bomb and they both ran down the stairs and out the back door. As they climbed over the garden fence Lathbury's Sten went off, nearly wounding Urquhart in the foot. Stopping to drink a cup of coffee offered by a Dutchman, who they did not like to refuse, they ran down a narrow cobbled alley leading into Alexanderstraat towards St. Elisabeth Hospital. As they were running down the street, followed by two other officers, Captain Cleminson and Captain Taylor, Brigadier Lathbury was hit by a machine gun firing from the top of Hendrickstraat. The others managed to drag him into 135 Alexanderstraat, a corner house.

No sooner were they inside when the face of a German appeared at the window. Urquhart

Below: The cellars of the Hartenstein—where the British troops first entered and where later, General Urquhart set up his operations room, photographed September 1973.



Above: Sergeant Smith photographed Major-General Kussin in his bullet-riddled car at the Wolfheze crossroads on September 18, 1944 (IWM).

Below: No ambushes in 1973, only traffic.

Below: The room at the Hartenstein Hotel, photographed in 1973, where the dinner table was found laid for the German staff.

Right: General Urquhart and Brigadier Lathbury ran up this alley to Alexanderstraat.
Above: 135 Alexanderstraat. The owner still has Brigadier Lathbury's binoculars which he left there when he was wounded in the street outside. General Urquhart shot the German through the ground-floor window.
Below: 14 Zwarteweg, where the General sheltered. (All photographed 1973).

lifted his revolver and shot the German in the face who fell to the cobbles outside.

Leaving the Brigadier to be looked after by the Dutch owner of the house, they left through the back door. Turning right, they rushed through the back door of 14 Zwarteweg a few yards away. This house faced the hospital and from the landing window they could see the Panzer Grenadiers in the street below.

They climbed up to the attic and waited. Urquhart felt helpless and absurd, hiding in an attic whilst his whole Division, undirected, fought a battle around him.

Taylor climbed down, and looking through the landing window saw a self-propelled gun parked outside the house. Urquhart suggested to the others that they throw some grenades and make a dash out but the others demurred and so they remained where they were.

Meanwhile Brigadier Hicks was commanding the battle as best he could from a group of houses at Oosterbeek.

During the day the next wave of reinforcements had arrived, later than expected because of fog in England. The Germans had now captured plans of Operation Market Garden, and were waiting when the gliders and Dakotas arrived over the landing zones.

Many men were killed as they floated to the ground, and gliders were hit as they prepared to land. Brigadier Hackett, Commander of the 4th Parachute Brigade, landed and was taken to Divisional Headquarters, which had now moved to the Hartenstein Hotel.

Brigadier Hackett, although the youngest, was the senior Brigadier, and when he met Brigadier Hicks at the Hotel and was told the chaotic state of the battle, began a heated argument on the conduct of the battle.

During Monday night troops of the 2nd Battalion, South Staffordshires, less one rifle company and its Support Company, alone moved forward from the Oosterbeek area to try and break through to the bridge. At dawn they reached the area of St. Elisabeth Hospital where General Urquhart was sheltering. Two Battalions attacked along the road outside the hospital on Utretchtseweg (or Bovenover meaning high road), and the other two battalions by the lower road, Onderlangs, by the river. The two roads meet at a fork by Zwarteweg. Both roads were under observation and the direct fire from a brickworks immediately across the river.

The two roads are separated by a high sloping embankment with the river at the bottom and the railway line at the top, making a natural defence barrier, and the river and railway line further constrict at the town Museum, a few hundred yards further on towards Arnhem.

At the same time, two official German photographers Wenzel and Jacobsen with 35mm cameras arrived in Arnhem. From the order of the pictures on the negatives, we know they moved together to the railway station and then parted. The photographs they took of this final British attempt to break through to the bridge are incredible, both in their quality, being taken during the battle, and for their detail. Reproduced here by permission of the Bundesarchiv, they give a fascinating insight into the German side of the battle.

Right: St. Elisabeth Hospital on Utrechtseweg 'Bovenover' or high road, in 1973. The road runs uphill to the right to the Museum — the British were attacking up the hill, left to right, the Germans having the advantage with their tanks at the top of the hill.

Top: German tank reinforcements, seen here in the Willemsplein, advance to the Museum. (Bundesarchiv).
Above: The editor risks death in 1973 to picture a Mini advancing at the lights.

Above: Now in the Utrechtseweg, the Germans advance up the 'blind' side of the hill to the Museum. (Bundesarchiv).
Above left: A bicycle is all that is to be feared in 1973.
Left: Now although within sight of the Museum, the Germans, rifles slung nonchalantly, walk up the hill. (Bundesarchiv).
Below: Except for the missing tram lines, the street looks the same twenty-nine years later.

Above left: Jacobsen took this picture on Tuesday 19, 1944, showing British dead lying on the pavement since the Sunday advance to the bridge. Note the advancing German soldiers. (Bundesarchiv).

Above right: One nameplate remains on the wall on the left; the cobbles have gone and a VW van takes the place of the German assault guns.

Left: At the Museum the fighting continues. (Bundesarchiv).

Below: A Tuesday in September, 1973.

Right: The guns have now passed the Museum and St. Elisabeth Hospital. Approaching the fork of the high and low roads they pause (Bundesarchiv).

Below: A part of the Utrechtseweg which has barely changed since the battle took place. Repairs made to the shell-damaged houses are noticeable today.

Left: Smoke rises from an explosion at the fork but the guns press on to Oosterbeek. Note the gun emerging from the lower road on the left (Bundesarchiv).

Below: No right turn—1973.

Second row: The StuG 3 emerging from the lower road (Bundesarchiv).

Third row: The overhead wires are down and a tram has failed to make Oosterbeek —the tanks will (Bundesarchiv).

Bottom row: Further down the road British soldiers are taken prisoner and carry their wounded on stretchers (Bundesarchiv).

Left: The British attempt to break through is over, prisoners are searched outside the Museum. (Bundesarchiv).
Centre: Turning into Nachtegaalspad, the prisoners are marched to the station. (Bundesarchiv).
Bottom: The final triumph of the British soldier in defeat! (Bundesarchiv).

Although successful at first, the attack was repulsed by tanks of the German Hohenstaufen Division by noon. The furthest point reached by the British was the Museum at the top of the hill leading down into Arnhem itself.

At 7.00 a.m. that morning, Tuesday 19, the self-propelled gun had moved away from 14 Zwarteweg, and the Dutch owner came to tell Urquhart that the British were coming down the street. Urquhart rushed out and, commandeering a jeep, drove to the Hartenstein Hotel.

The appearance of the General, after an absence of 24 hours, relieved Brigadier Hicks who handed back command.

After assembling at point (A) on the map on pages 2 and 3, the 1st Parachute Battalion attempted to advance to Arnhem by their proposed northern route which leads to the Amsterdamseweg. They had met determined resistance north of Wolfheze and a confused battle ensued in the woods in a blinding downpour of rain. By dawn on Monday most of the Battalion had reached the northern outskirts of Arnhem but at great cost in casualties. Part of the force had been driven south to Oosterbeek and Lietenant-Colonel Dobie in command, after he received a desperate message from Colonel Frost by radio, decided to abandon the original plans and try to break through to help the 2nd Battalion.

These attacks planned for Tuesday failed.

Brigadier Hackett, who had now returned to his units north of the town, found himself pinned down north of the railway line between Johanna Hoeve and Lichtenbeek. The railway line runs on a high embankment except at the crossing at Wolfheze. When the Germans put in a concerted attack to cut him off and take Wolfheze this meant it was imperative to withdraw across the railway line at the Wolfheze level crossing immediately.

This withdrawal became a chaotic retreat.

One of the Company Commanders, Captain Queripel, in a heroic stand described later, was awarded the Victoria Cross for his part in the fighting in this sector.

The decimated battalions, their transport almost totally destroyed, streamed back. The final straw was when the Polish Brigade started landing on their landing zone in the middle of the furious fighting. Some of the Polish troops were mistaken for Germans and were fired on by both the British and Germans, which quickly drove the Poles to disorder.

A further disaster then occurred. Because the planned supply dropping zones were in German hands messages were radioed to London to warn them and new zones marked

Top: The Hartenstein Hotel 1973. The tennis courts used for the captured prisoners are on the left.
Above: The editors wife and son relax on the Hartenstein lawn.
Bottom: General Urquhart, next to his standard (now in the Airborne Museum, Aldershot), photographed by Sgt. Smith on September 22, 1944. (IWM).
Bottom left: Major-General Urquhart returns 25 years later. (Airborne Museum).

Top: A supply drop photographed outside the front of the Hartenstein by Sgt. Smith, September 19, (IWM) with our comparison showing the Airborne memorial, 1973.

Centre: Attempts are made to signal the aircraft at the back of the Hartenstein. (IWM). The gardener cuts it short in 1973.

Left: This German photograph was taken after the battle from the road in front of the Hartenstein. The supply basket in front of the jeep could be the one dropping in the top photograph. (Bundesarchiv).

Above: The level crossing at Wolfheze, 1973. The Mental Hospital bombed by the RAF before the attack, is just above the crossing.
Right: A scarred tree in the grounds of the Hartenstein, shown below as it is today.
Bottom: A soldier's grave outside the Hartenstein in 1944.

with signal strips laid on the ground near the Hartenstein Hotel. The message failed to arrive and also the timing of the fighter escort was wrong. The supply aircraft therefore arrived over the wrong zone, without fighter escort, dropped most of their supplies to the Germans and suffered very heavily in the process.

One of the pilots who braved the heavy anti-aircraft fire was Flight Lieutenant Lord whose citation for the Victoria Cross is given later in the story.

From now until the following Monday night when the final withdrawal and evacuation of the survivors across the Neder Rijn took place, the battle developed into the defence with fragmented units, of a perimeter whose sides were continually decreasing. Colonel Frost's 2nd Battalion at the bridge was the only coherent fighting force left and its hours were numbered.

The perimeter centred on the Hartenstein Hotel—in the west as far as Westerbouwing (high ground above the crossing point of the Heveadorp ferry), in the east Oosterbeek Laag church, and from just below the railway line in the north, to the river in the south.

General Urquhart, now installed at the Hartenstein Hotel headquarters, still hoped that the 2nd British Army, advancing from the south, would break through and relieve them.

The area within the perimeter was under continual intense German mortar, shell and small arms fire. With unimpaired outside communications, the Germans had unlimited supplies of ammunition and troops and had rushed 10,000 men to oppose the British force which now numbered about 3,000.

A collection of remnants of units named Lonsdale force, after its commander, was detailed to hold the Oosterbeek Laag church on the eastern perimeter, just above the Neder Rijn and stop the Germans cutting off the only escape route across the river.

During attacks on these positions a heroic stand was made by Sergeant Baskeyfield of the South Staffords, for which he was awarded a posthumous V.C.

Another V.C. was won by Major Cain for his ceaseless courage and determination during the whole battle and especially for one episode which took place just to the north of the church, at the laundry.

The Hartenstein Hotel was under continual sniper fire. The Vreewijk, Tafelberg and Schoonhord Hotels were used as hospitals, and were full of wounded and dying men. In the south of the perimeter, the house next to the church, owned by Mrs. Kate ter Horst, was crammed with wounded, so much so that operations had to be performed in the boiler house. A truce was arranged with the Germans to surrender some of the wounded.

The Guards Armoured Division, fighting its way north only 10 miles from the river, was restricted to a single road, and the resulting traffic jam prevented the supporting infantry from joining the tanks until Thursday, too late to help the beleaguered troops.

At 5.15 p.m. on Thursday 21, Polish reinforcements were flown in and dropped at a revised position south of the Heveadorp ferry near Driel. The Germans, warned by lookouts on the coast at Dunkirk that they were on their way, prepared a devastating reception from fighters and anti-aircraft guns. The Polish leader, General Sosabowski, landed safely and had begun to organise his unit to cross the river by the ferry, when he learned it had fallen into German hands two hours previously.

That night an attempt was made to get some of the Polish Brigade across in rafts constructed from 10cwt jeep trailers. All attempts to get a line across the river failed, the current was too strong to use these improvised boats, and efforts finally had to be postponed until Friday.

The next morning, Friday, after a trip across the river by Lieutenant Colonel Myers, Royal Engineer Commander, plans were laid for ferrying that night using rubber boats and rafts. Thanks largely to Lieutenant David Storrs of the Royal Engineers, who made twenty-three trips across the river, 60 Poles were transferred that night, but not one boat was left undamaged.

The following day attempts were made using two DUKWs to get supplies across to the surrounded forces, but although these could be driven on to the river by the south ferry ramp, the ramp opposite was in German hands; they had to be taken downstream and could not be landed.

A further attempt was made to ferry the Poles across using assault boats. As no sappers were available, nor any infantry who had been trained in their use, subsequently only 200 Poles succeeded in getting safely across into British lines, many crossing into the German held part of the north bank.

All attempts to reinforce the perimeter failed.

The Germans, aware of the approaching Allied formations south of the river, made increased efforts to wipe out the defenders before help arrived. Infiltration increased and Germans approached to within 250 yards of the Hartenstein.

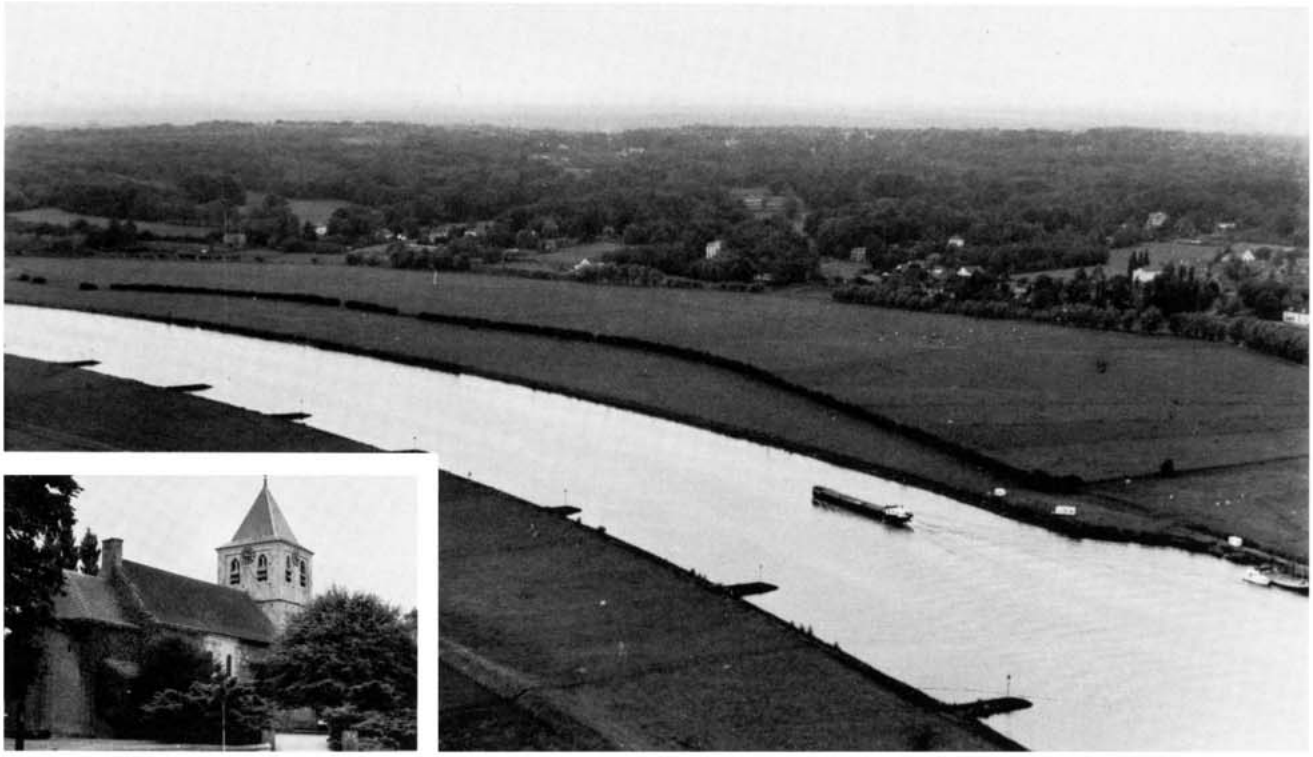
It was obvious that the position was untenable and the decision for the evacuation was made, to be carried out on Monday night, September 25/26.

Left: Defending the Hartenstein with an American M1 carbine. (IWM). An English and Dutch boy remember in 1973.
Below: Troops brew up in front of the tennis courts. (IWM). The pavillion is unchanged today.
Third row: Sgt. Smith photographed a wounded soldier being carried to the Hartenstein on September 24. (IWM). Our Land Rover outside the entrance in 1973.
Bottom left: This rocket fell without exploding in what is now a deer park outside the hotel. (IWM).
Bottom: General Urquhart on the terrace.

The Heveadorp Ferry today.

This is where the attempt to ferry the Poles across the river was made, seen in 1973.

Above: Outside Vreewijk hotel after the battle. (Bundesarchiv).
Below left: Now children collect conkers on the lawn of Mrs. Kate ter Horst's house.
Below right: Tafelberg hotel 1973 — Model's HQ later used as a hospital during the fighting.



The evacuation

43 Division together with Canadian Sappers were to man the boats. These were brought up by road and off-loaded by a farm to the south of the river. From here they had to be carried 500 yards to the crossing site.

During the day more units became surrounded as enemy infiltration increased and the shelling and mortaring of the constricting perimeter continued. Parties were detailed to mark the route to be followed to the river with white tape. As evening fell, the 2500 troops remaining wrapped up their boots with cloth to deaden the sound. It was raining heavily with a strong wind, which helped to muffle the withdrawal. Beacon fires were lit to guide the boats, and tracer was fired overhead from armoured cars on the road on the south bank, to give direction to the sappers manning the boats. The river bank rapidly became churned up in the rain, and the progress became very difficult.

Artillery fire from 43rd Division, south of the river, started at 9.00 p.m. and helped drown any sounds and at the same time keep the German's heads down. Enemy fire did slacken and, at 9.45 p.m., the troops moved off. Ferrying started at 10.00 p.m.

As the men arrived at the river, they lay down to await their turn. Some boats were hit but most of the enemy fire was too high. The rain affected the motors in the boats which led to endless trouble.

At 5.45 a.m. ferrying had to stop as, with daylight, enemy guns became more active. The last boat carrying 36 men completed the evacuation of 2720 men — 300 still remained on the north bank. Some men swam across and a further attempt was made the next night to pick up survivors.

In all, the division, which started out with 10,095 men, lost 7605, although many of those captured made their way back to British lines in the days which followed.

Much damage was caused to Arnhem in the landing, and the town was damaged even further in the Allied bombing raids which followed.

Today there is virtually no sign of ruined buildings and much re-development has taken place. Main roads which were constructed of fire-baked bricks (unlike English cobbles), have been widened and re-surfaced and of the three routes taken by the troops, that of the 2nd Battalion—the lower road, remains the most original. Only at Heelsum has a new motorway carved a slice out of the route.

The landing grounds are still to be seen growing crops and root vegetables as in 1944. Each year after ploughing, parts of the gliders (which were all burnt by the Germans after the evacuation) are unearthed.

Memorial plaques will be found in many places and at Heelsum crossroads an unusual monument, made out of supply containers and shell cases has been erected. (It has been moved from its original site because of nearby road re-construction.)

Of the hotels which figured in the operation, the Schoonhard was so badly damaged that it was demolished and completely rebuilt. The Vreewijk Hotel remains on the Utrechtseweg, and was on the edge of the final perimeter. The Tafelberg, originally Model's headquarters, and used during the battle as a hospital, has been repaired and is now a Roman Catholic Institute.

The Hartenstein Hotel with its surrounding parkland must be one of the most historic buildings from any of the campaigns of the last war. Repaired and rebuilt largely in its

Top: This is where the evacuation took place. Photograph taken 1973 looking north. Inset: Oosterbeek Laag church. Centre: Looking from the Hartenstein to the Neder Rijn showing the extent of the final perimeter. The hedge in the top photograph can be seen by the river. Below: Sergeant Dennis M. Smith who took our photographs in Arnhem in 1944. (IWM).

original style, and still used as a hotel, the part it played in the battle as General Urquhart's headquarters makes it the natural centre for studying the battle. Our thanks are extended to Mr. W. A. Strijland, the proprietor, and his family for their assistance.

Our pictures show the dining room where the dining table was found laid for the German staff, and also a corner of the underground cellar used by the headquarters staff at the height of the battle. This cellar was used after the war for a Dutch style 'pub', and the original signatures on the walls have been added to by the graffiti of many 'Kilroys' from all over the world.

The tennis courts used as a ready-made cage for German prisoners remain, although resurfaced as the original ones were criss-crossed with trenches. Trees throughout the park are shell-scarred, indeed throughout the whole of the Oosterbeek-Arnhem area. Metal detector tests on the trees show they are full of metal and injuries have been caused by chains breaking on saws used to fell trees in the area.

In the forest areas, especially along the Amsterdamseweg, where Captain Queripel was killed, trenches and foxholes still remain and searches with metal detectors have revealed all manner of weapons, ammunition, grenades and equipment.

To see the final evacuation area, the terrace of Westerbowing provides the best view. The banks of the Neder Rijn have been altered and a spit of land with a sluice constructed. Many items of equipment were found on the river bank during these alterations. The brickworks on the far bank, from which the Germans must have had shooting gallery type targets on the exposed roads opposite, still produce a particular Dutch type of brick.

We appreciate and record our thanks to the many Dutch people who helped us in the preparation of this article, especially Mr. A. Groeneweg of Bibliotheek Arnhem and Mr. J. Voskuil and his son who since 1949 have amassed what must be the most comprehensive photographic, film and sound library of the Arnhem battle.

General Urquhart retired from the army with the rank of Major-General. He is now living in Scotland.

Colonel Frost was wounded at the bridge and taken prisoner. He was freed by American forces in April 1945. He left the army in 1968, a Major-General, and is now a farmer in Hampshire.

Captain Mackay remained in the army after the war and is now a Major-General serving as Chief Engineer, HQ, British Army of the Rhine.

Above, centre and right: A remarkable series of photographs taken after the battle. These dead soldiers were photographed by the Germans at the 6km milestone on the Amsterdamseweg. (Bundesarchiv).

The Dutch buried the British dead by the milestone. Mr. Groeneweg of Bibliotheek Arnhem points out the exact spot in 1973. Arnhem has grown and is now only 5km away!

Below: The Germans burn the gliders.

Arnhem VC's

Five Victoria Crosses were awarded, four posthumously, for bravery at Arnhem. The citations of Lance-Sergeant Baskeyfield, Captain Cain (who now lives in the Isle of Man), Lieutenant Grayburn, Flight Lieutenant Lord and Captain Queripel are reproduced here.

Lance-Sergeant John Daniel Baskeyfield, The South Staffordshire Regiment (1st Airborne Division) (Stoke-on-Trent).

"On 20th September, 1944, during the battle of Arnhem, Lance-Sergeant Baskeyfield was the NCO in charge of a six-pounder anti-tank gun at Oosterbeek. The enemy developed a major attack on this sector with infantry, tanks and self-propelled guns with the obvious intent to break into and over-run the battalion position. During the early stage of the action the crew commanded by this NCO was responsible for the destruction of two Tiger tanks and at least one self-propelled gun, thanks to the coolness and daring of this NCO who, with complete disregard for his own safety, allowed each tank to come well within 100 yards of his gun before opening fire.

In the course of this preliminary engagement Lance-Sergeant Baskeyfield was badly wounded in the leg and the remainder of his crew were either killed or badly wounded.

During the brief respite after this engagement Lance-Sergeant Baskeyfield refused to be carried to the regimental aid post and spent his time attending to his gun and shouting encouragement to his comrades in neighbouring trenches.

After a short interval the enemy renewed the attack with even greater ferocity than before, under cover of intense mortar and shell fire. Manning his gun quite alone, Lance-Sergeant Baskeyfield continued to fire round after round at the enemy until his gun was put out of action. By this time his activity was the main factor in keeping the enemy tanks at bay. The fact that the surviving men in his vicinity were held together and kept in action was undoubtedly due to his magnificent example and outstanding courage. Time after time enemy attacks were launched and driven off. Finally, when his gun was knocked out, Lance-Sergeant Baskeyfield crawled, under intense enemy fire, to another six-pounder gun nearby, the crew of which had been killed, and proceeded to man it single-handed. With his gun he engaged an enemy self-propelled gun which was approaching to attack. Another soldier crawled across the open ground to assist him but was killed almost at once. Lance-Sergeant Baskeyfield succeeded in firing two rounds at the self-propelled gun, scoring one direct hit which rendered it ineffective. Whilst preparing to fire a third shot, however, he was killed by a shell from a supporting enemy tank.

The superb gallantry of this NCO is beyond praise. During the remaining days at Arnhem stories of his valour were a constant inspiration to all ranks. He spurned danger, ignored pain and, by his supreme fighting spirit, infected all who witnessed his conduct with the same aggressiveness and dogged devotion to duty which characterized his actions throughout."

Top: The StuG 3 knocked out by Baskeyfield. Photograph taken on Benedendorpsweg looking towards Acacialaan.

Centre: Acacialaan — Illustrated London News artist's impression of Baskeyfield's heroic stand.

Bottom: Acacialaan photographed today. The silver birch remains.

An 80-minute cinemascope amateur film has been made by Bill Townley called 'Baskeyfield VC'. As Baskeyfield was a fellow Staffordian, he felt that the memory of how Baskeyfield died was being forgotten, and so used his hobby of widescreen 8mm cine-photography to help keep the story alive. For an amateur production, the film is incredibly professional with tanks (provided by the 16th 5th Lancers) machine guns, explosives, realistically filmed in Staffordshire and taking three years to make. If any reader has the opportunity to see this film (of which, unfortunately, Bill Townley only has one copy), it is well worth seeing.

Captain (Temporary Major) Robert Henry Cain, The Royal Northumberland Fusiliers (Attached The South Staffordshire Regiment) (1 Airborne Div.).

"In Holland on 19th September, 1944, Major Cain was commanding a rifle company of the South Staffordshire Regiment during the battle of Arnhem when his company was cut off from the rest of the battalion and during the next six days was closely engaged with enemy tanks, self-propelled guns and infantry. The Germans made repeated attempts to break into the company's position by infiltration, and had they succeeded in doing so the whole situation of the airborne troops would have been jeopardized.

Major Cain, by his outstanding devotion to duty and remarkable powers of leadership, was to a large extent personally responsible for saving a vital sector from falling into the hands of the enemy.

On 20th September a Tiger tank approached the area held by his company and Major Cain went out alone to deal with it armed with a Piat. Taking up a position he held fire until the tank was only 20 yards away when he opened up. The tank immediately halted and turned its guns on him, shooting away a corner of the house near where this officer was lying. Although wounded by machine-gun bullets and falling masonry, Major Cain continued firing until he had scored several direct hits, immobilized the tank and supervised the bringing up of a 75mm howitzer which completely destroyed it. Only then would he consent to have his wounds dressed.

The next morning this officer drove off three more tanks by the fearless use of his Piat, on each occasion leaving cover and taking up position in open ground with complete disregard for his personal safety.

During the following days, Major Cain was everywhere where danger threatened, moving amongst his men and encouraging them by his fearless example to hold out. He refused rest and medical attention in spite of the fact that his hearing had been seriously impaired because of a perforated eardrum and he was suffering from multiple wounds.

On the 25th September the enemy made a concerted attack on Major Cain's position, using self-propelled guns, flame-throwers and infantry. By this time the last Piat had been put out of action and Major Cain was armed with only a light 2-inch mortar. However, by skilful use of this weapon and his daring leadership of the few men still under his command, he completely demoralized the enemy who, after an engagement lasting more than three hours, withdrew in disorder.

Throughout the whole course of the Battle of Arnhem, Major Cain showed superb gallantry. His powers of endurance and leadership were the admiration of all his fellow officers and stories of his valour were being constantly exchanged amongst the troops. His coolness and courage under incessant fire could not be surpassed."

After the war Major Cain returned to his pre-war job with the Shell Company. He went to the Far East and later worked in their West African office. He returned in 1965 and has recently settled in the Isle of Man, his family home. His beret, smock and insignia worn when he won the VC are in the Regimental Museum of the Staffordshire Regiment at Whittington Barracks, Lichfield.

The rebuilt laundry at Oosterbeek today—one of the places where Major Cain fought.

Lieutenant John Grayburn, 2nd Battalion The Parachute Regiment.

"Lieutenant John Grayburn was a platoon commander of the Parachute Battalion which was dropped on 17th September, 1944, with the task of seizing and holding the bridge over the Rhine at Arnhem.

The north end of the bridge was captured and, early in the night, Lieut Grayburn was ordered to assault and capture the southern end with his platoon. He led his platoon on to the bridge and began the attack with the utmost determination, but the platoon was met with a hail of fire from two 20mm quick-firing guns and from the machine guns of an armoured car. Almost at once Lieut Grayburn was shot through the shoulder. Although there was no cover on the bridge, and in spite of his wound, Lieut Grayburn continued to press forward with the greatest dash and bravery until casualties became so heavy that he was ordered to withdraw. He directed the withdrawal from the bridge personally and was himself the last man to come off the embankment into comparative cover. Later his platoon was ordered to occupy a house which was vital to the defence of the bridge and he personally organised the occupation of the house.

Throughout the next day and night, the enemy made ceaseless attacks on the house, using not only infantry with mortars and machine guns but also tanks and self-propelled guns. The house was very exposed and difficult to defend, and the fact that it did not fall to the enemy must be attributed to Lieut Grayburn's great courage and inspiring leadership. He constantly exposed himself to the enemy's fire while moving among and encouraging his platoon and seemed completely oblivious to danger.

On the 19th September, the enemy renewed his attacks, which increased in intensity, as the house was vital to the defence of the bridge. All attacks were repulsed, due to Lieut Grayburn's valour and skill in organising and encouraging his men, until eventually the house was set on fire and had to be evacuated.

Lieut Grayburn then took command of the elements of all arms including the remainder of his company and re-formed them into a fighting force. He spent the night organising a defensive position to cover the approaches to the bridge.

On 20th September, 1944, he extended his defence by a series of fighting patrols which prevented the enemy gaining access to the houses in the vicinity, the occupation of which would have prejudiced the defence of the bridge. This forced the enemy to bring up tanks which brought Lieut Grayburn's positions under such heavy fire that he was forced to withdraw to an area farther north. The enemy now attempted to lay demolition charges under the bridge and the situation was critical. Realising this, Lieut Grayburn organised and led a fighting patrol which drove the enemy off temporarily, and gave time for the fuses to be removed. He was again wounded, this time in the back, but refused to be evacuated.

Finally, an enemy tank, against which Lieut Grayburn had no defence, approached so close to his position that it became untenable. He then stood up in full view of the tank and personally directed the withdrawal of his men to the main defensive perimeter to which he had been ordered. He was killed that night.

From the evening of 17th September until the night of 20th September, 1944, a period of over three days, Lieut Grayburn led his men with supreme gallantry and determination. Although in pain and weakened by his wounds, short of food and without sleep, his

courage never flagged. There is no doubt that, had it not been for this Officer's inspiring leadership and personal bravery, the Arnhem Bridge could never have been held for this time."

Flight Lieutenant David Samuel Anthony Lord, D.F.C., Royal Air Force, No. 271 Squadron, Transport Command.

"Flight Lieutenant Lord was pilot and captain of a Dakota aircraft detailed to drop supplies at Arnhem on the afternoon of the 19th September, 1944. Our airborne troops had been surrounded and were being pressed into a small area defended by a large number of anti-aircraft guns. Air crews were warned that intense opposition would be met over the dropping zone. To ensure accuracy they were ordered to fly at 900 ft. when dropping their containers.

While flying at 1,500 ft. near Arnhem the starboard wing of Flight Lieutenant Lord's aircraft was twice hit by anti-aircraft fire. The starboard engine was set on fire. He would have been justified in leaving the main stream of supply aircraft and continuing at the same height or even abandoning his aircraft. But on learning that his crew were uninjured and that the dropping zone would be reached in three minutes he said he would complete his mission, as the troops were in dire need of supplies.

By now the starboard engine was burning furiously. Flight Lieutenant Lord came down to 900 ft. where he was singled out for the concentrated fire of all the anti-aircraft guns. On reaching the dropping zone he kept the aircraft on a straight and level course while supplies were dropped. At the end of the run, he was told that two containers remained.

Although he must have known that the collapse of the starboard wing could not be long delayed, Flight Lieutenant Lord circled, rejoined the stream of aircraft and made a second run to drop the remaining supplies. These manoeuvres took eight minutes in all, the aircraft being continuously under heavy anti-aircraft fire.

His task completed, Flight Lieutenant Lord ordered his crew to abandon the Dakota, making no attempt himself to leave the aircraft, which was down to 500 ft. A few seconds later, the starboard wing collapsed and the aircraft fell in flames. There was only one survivor, who was flung out while assisting other members of the crew to put on their parachutes.

By continuing his mission in a damaged and burning aircraft, descending to drop the supplies accurately, returning to the dropping zone a second time and, finally, remaining at the controls to give his crew a chance of escape, Flight Lieutenant Lord displayed supreme valour and self-sacrifice."

A slit-trench in the forest today near where Captain Queripel was killed.

Captain Lionel Ernest Queripel, 10th Battalion, The Parachute Regiment.

"At Arnhem on 19th September 1944 Captain Queripel was acting as company commander of a composite company composed of men of three parachute battalions.

At 14.00 hours on that day his company were advancing along a main road which runs on an embankment towards Arnhem. The advance was conducted under continuous machine-gun fire, which at one period became so heavy that the company became split up on either side of the road and suffered considerable loss. Captain Queripel at once proceeded to reorganise his forces, crossing and recrossing the road whilst doing so under extremely heavy and accurate fire. During this period he carried a wounded sergeant to the Regimental Aid Post under fire and was himself wounded in the face.

Having reorganised his force, Captain Queripel personally led a party of men against a strong point holding up the advance. This strong point consisted of a captured British anti-tank gun, and two machine guns. Despite the extremely heavy fire directed at him, Captain Queripel succeeded in killing the crews of the machine guns and recapturing the anti-tank gun. As a result of this the advance was able to continue.

Later in the same day Captain Queripel found himself cut off with a small party of men and took up a position in a ditch. By this time he had received further wounds in both arms. Regardless of his wounds and the very heavy mortar and Spandau fire, he continued to inspire his men to resist with hand grenades, pistols and the few remaining rifles. On at least one occasion he picked up and threw back at the enemy a stick grenade which had landed in the ditch.

As, however, the enemy pressure increased, Captain Queripel decided that it was impossible to hold the position longer and ordered his men to withdraw. Despite their protests, he insisted on remaining behind to cover their withdrawal with his automatic pistol and a few remaining hand grenades. This is the last occasion on which he was seen.

During the whole of a period of nine hours of confused and bitter fighting Captain Queripel displayed the highest standard of gallantry under most difficult and trying circumstances. His courage, leadership and devotion to duty were an inspiration to all."

AFTER THE BATTLE

NUREMBERG

The rallies

SETTING THE STAGE

With the great world depression of the early 1930's, the Nazis emerged as the major political power in Germany. As the struggle for national control deepened, it became more and more apparent that the party would sooner or later triumph. With the appointment of Hitler as Chancellor in 1933, the National Socialists achieved supreme power in Germany, and henceforth the rallies grew from mere party gatherings into national events of great significance. Hitler therefore decided to build a gigantic stage on the outskirts of Nuremberg for the future party congresses.

The National Socialists undoubtedly knew that the creation of an area dedicated solely to ceremony and pageantry had precedents in world history. They knew that whenever a cultic tradition grew up in a nation, a proper ceremonial background emerged simultaneously with it; since the National Socialists liked to think of themselves in historical terms—for instance, announcing the beginning of the thousand-year Third Reich—they proceeded to fabricate history and tradition. They invented a cult overnight, and rather than let it grow naturally with time and tradition, they provided a ceremonial background through a gigantic crash programme of construction. They wanted to display their power with pomp and circumstance, and borrowed theatrics from the great states of the past. The formidable, despotic might of the Pharaonic state of ancient Egypt was expressed in colossal temples and pyramids; Greece and Rome inscribed the omnipotence of the state in temples, palaces, monuments, and highways; Napoleon celebrated his triumphs in lavish buildings and monuments that changed the face of Paris. Hitler considered himself the equal of the great rulers of the past and did not hesitate to imitate their splendid gestures. From the very beginning, the highest priority was given to the construction of these parade grounds, and a maximum effort was made by large numbers of labourers, who worked almost around the clock between the summer of 1933 and autumn, 1939, to manifest the grandiose ambitions of the Nazi leadership. One positive result of these vast projects was the reduction of unemployment; work was provided for thousands of labourers of all professions. The projected Marzfeld project, for instance was so vast that the preparation of the 510,000 cubic feet of stone that were to be used for this one site would have required 4.2 million hours of labour.

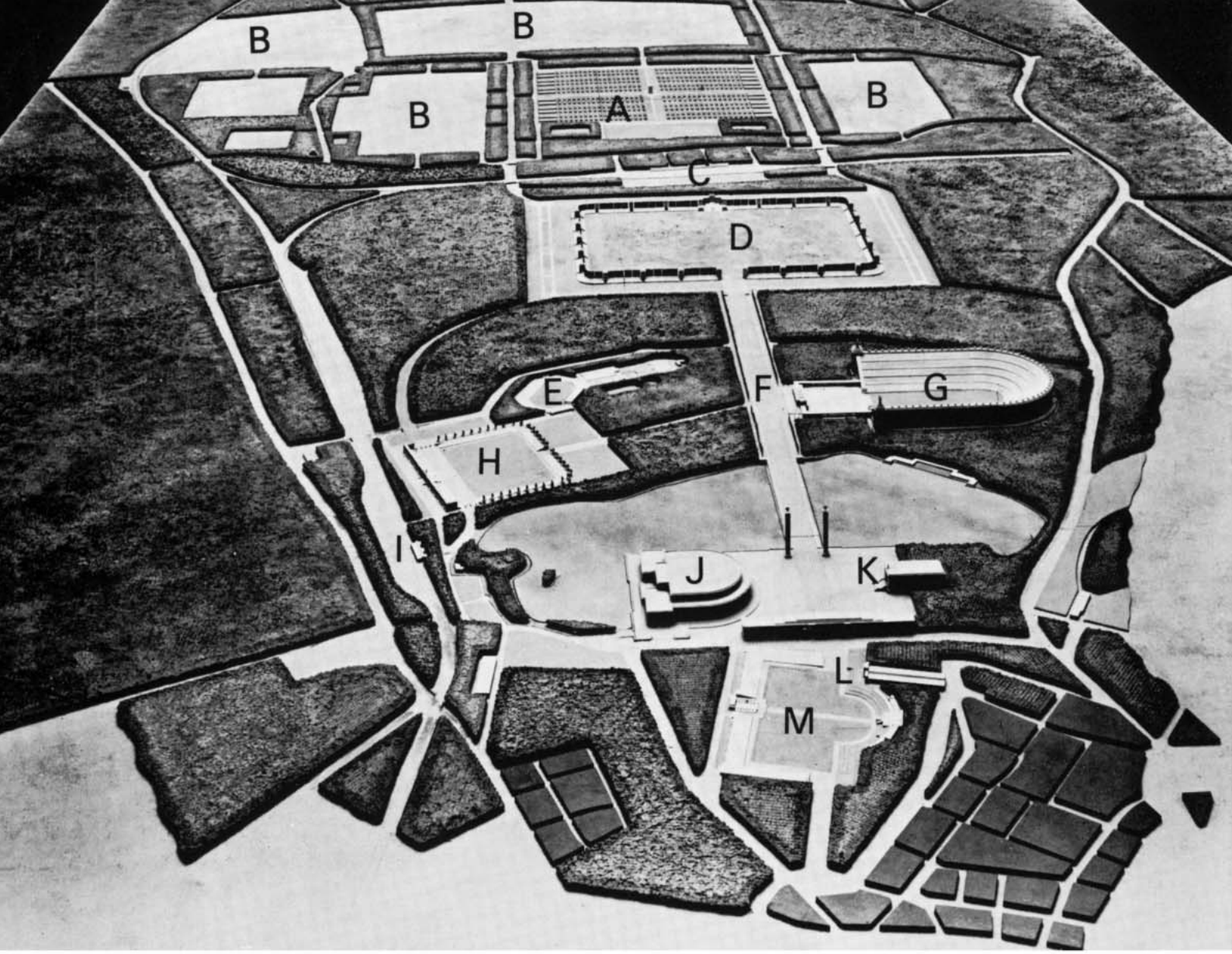
Opposite: Luitpoldhain — Hitler at the memorial ceremony to war dead in 1935. (Associated Press).
Below: The editor with his son echo the past.

Above: Hitler in the leading car on Konigstrasse. (Associated Press).
Below: Konigstrasse today, photographed with the assistance of Herr Muller, above the Nurnberger Vesicherung offices.

When the National Socialists first chose the outskirts of Nuremberg for their mass meetings, the Luitpoldhain, named after an old Bavarian King, was an Exhibition Park laid out in 1906. Nearby was a large site where the city built a sports stadium between 1923 and 1928. Another neighbouring area was the Zeppelinwiese. In the middle of the nineteenth century, this area was a forest; destroyed by fire, it was used as a city dump for many years. Before World War 1, when food became scarce, it was cultivated by farmers. Graf Zeppelin landed there in 1909 in his third airship and so gave the area its name, 'Zeppelin-meadows'. After World War 1, the city bought the land and converted it into a public picnic area.

THE LUITPOLDHAIN

The Luitpoldhain was the first area the Nazis chose for their meetings in the 1920's which Hitler staged around the First World War Memorial, the EHRENMAL designed by Fritz Mayer and built 1928-30. After they had seized power, it was the first site they



Above: Albert Speer's model of the projected rally grounds at Nuremberg, exhibited at the 1937 Paris World's Fair. A — SA Camp. B — SS, Labour Corps and Hitler Jugend camp. C — Railway station. D — Marzfeld. E — Old Nuremberg Stadium. F — Processional Avenue. G — German Stadium. H — Zeppelinwiese. I — Transformer Station. J — New Congresshalle. K — Kulturhalle. L — Luitpoldhalle. M — Luitpoldhain. (Nurnberg Bildstelle).

Below: The Ehrenmal (war memorial) as it is today. (Nurnberg Bildstelle).

developed for the Party Day of Victory in September, 1933. The *Volkischer Beobachter* of August 30, 1933, reported that during the previous two weeks a huge wooden grandstand had been erected, surrounded by three wooden towers ninety-six feet high and visible from a great distance. Large flags, seventy-eight by eighteen feet in size, were mounted on top of each tower. The flagpoles put up in this area stood 105 feet high. The speaker's platform and grandstands for 60,000 people were completed. The former was eighteen feet high and could accommodate 1,000 honorary guests. On one side of the field stood a large stand for the press that seated 1,500. Eighty-two loudspeakers had been installed. This work was done by 1,500 workers in a very short period of time. Hitler acquainted himself personally on the progress of the work. On August 19, he visited the Luit-

Below: The Luitpoldhain today. Although a park, it still retains the outline of the stadium. The war memorial is on the extreme right.

poldhain and studied the blueprints of the grandstand and the War Memorial.

The first large-scale construction on permanent installations was begun in preparation for the 1934 party congress. A contingent of 620 men was put to work to erect two gigantic concrete reviewing stands, each 500 feet in length. On the rally ground, six square miles in size, 270,000 cubic feet of earth had to be supplied to provide a solid base for a grass lawn that was to cover the entire parade grounds. The speaker's stand was eighteen feet high and was connected on both sides to special stands for the press. The entire structure was flanked by two huge stone towers, which were topped by the party eagles. These emblems of the party, designed by architect Kurt Schmidt-Ehmer, were nineteen feet high and had a wingspread of twenty-three feet. They had been built in sections, in a film studio, and then shipped to Nuremberg in five trucks and assembled. In 1935, the eagles were replaced by others of bronze.

In the background of this impressive stage stood four metal flagpoles 130 feet high. By 1937, the construction work on the Luitpold Arena was almost completed. The grass plain in front of the new main grandstand was covered with large stone slabs. Ultimately the street that led into the area, as well as the avenue that led to the War Memorial, was paved with granite, transforming the entire Luitpold Arena into a great stone edifice. Now the area extended over five square miles and could accommodate 150,000 participants and 50,000 spectators. The granite path connecting the War Memorial and the grandstand was 54 feet wide and 720 feet long.

THE ZEPPELINWIESE

As early as 1929, the Luitpoldhain had proved too small to accommodate the constantly increasing number of participants, so the decision was made to use one or more of the adjacent fields for larger demonstrations. A number of stands capable of seating 350,000 spectators were set up on the Zeppelinwiese for the congress of 1933. In 1934, a railway station was built near the Zeppelinwiese to facilitate the movement of traffic to and from the rally area.

Early in 1934, an architect, Albert Speer, whose work Hitler had increasingly admired, was given his first major commission by the Fuhrer.

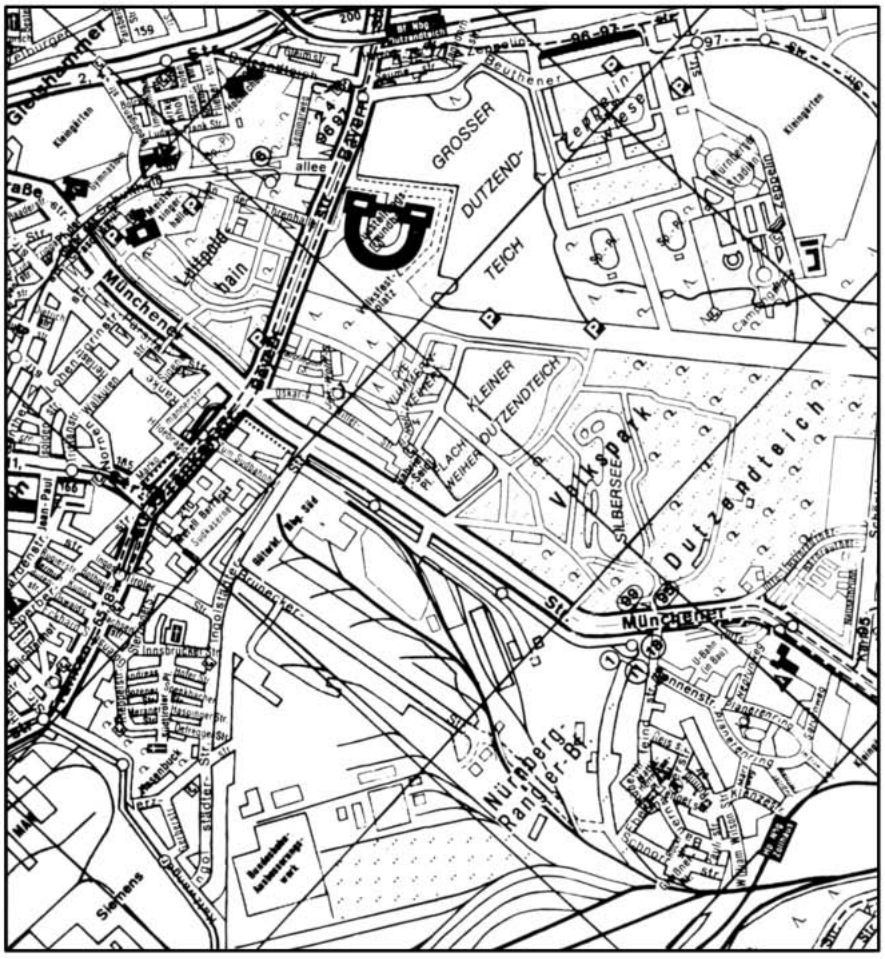
The temporary constructions at the Zeppelinwiese were to be replaced by a permanent stone installation. Speer has written how he struggled over those first sketches until in an inspired moment the idea came to him: a mighty flight of stairs topped and enclosed by a long colonade, flanked on both ends by stone abutments. A model was made which, with some trepidation, he showed to Hitler.

Speer, fully aware of Hitler's over-riding passion for architecture and building, watched anxiously whilst Hitler impassively studied the model and drawings from every angle. Finally with a single word he approved the design and departed abruptly.

This was the turning point for Albert Speer. With other architects Hitler would call for revisions of the draft drawings several times, but henceforth Hitler respected Speer's designs and let him proceed without interference.

The work began immediately in order to have at least the platfom ready for the coming rally in September. The Nuremberg tram depot had to be blown up to make way for the construction. Work on this project was to be completed for the 1936 party congress. The field was expanded considerably to provide more space for armed-forces manoeuvers and the meetings of the political leaders. A neighbouring sports field and several tennis courts were demolished, and their space incorporated in the Zeppelinwiese; this enlarged it by a third and increased its capacity to

Compare the RAF photograph taken September 28, 1941 (Crown Copyright) with the map below of Nuremberg today. (Copyright Geografa Munchen).



Top: Hitler on the platform at the Zeppelinwiese speaking to the Wehrmacht, 1937. (Ullstein).
Above: The platform as it is today.

400,000 people. (The population of the town of Nuremberg was then 420,000.) On the far side of the field an avenue seventy-two feet wide was built, leading into the grounds; it was used for parades of political leaders and the armed forces.

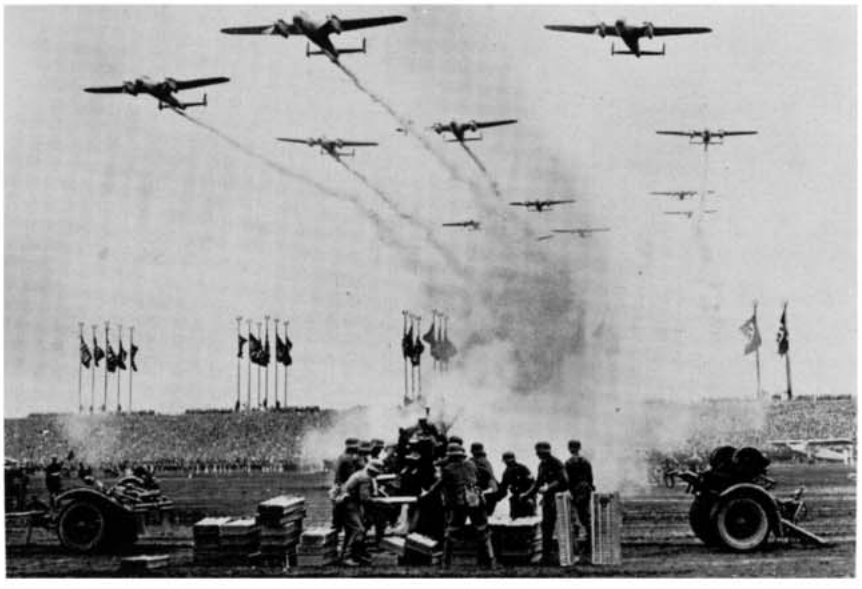
The new grandstand eighty feet high and thirteen hundred feet long, was built on the northeast side of the field. In the centre was the speaker's platform. The back of the tribune and the steps leading to the honour stands for special guests were temporarily made out of wood. The grandstand was also to be completed by 1936, and to be built entirely of brick and faced with stone tiles. At the back of the grandstand stood iron scaffolding 120 feet high, topped by a huge eagle and several large flags. Another huge eagle was installed before the rally of 1935; mounted on eight vertical poles, it was dismantled after the rally and replaced by a swastika.

By July, 1936, the back of the grandstand, which faced the street, had been covered with marble tiles. The background of this imposing tribune was formed by 170 stone pillars. The actual parade grounds now measured 960 by 870 feet, and were paved with stone to provide a solid base for army manoeuvers. Stone grandstands twenty feet high enclosed the field on three sides. Thirty-four towers were evenly distributed along these stands. Six flagmasts were mounted on each tower.

Because of the party's great preoccupation with operatic effects, the lighting of the field was carefully arranged. Albert Speer was responsible for all the decorations of the buildings in which Hitler would appear during the course of the rallies. Speer dearly loved flags, and the colours and design of the Nazi flag proved easy to incorporate into his designs. He often added gold ribbons to the flag to intensify the effect of the red.

He suggested that the thousands of flags belonging to all the various groups parading, be hidden out of sight behind the walls of the stadium in the darkness before an evening parade. They would then march into the stadium in ten columns, when bright spotlights would light the banners and crowning eagles with dramatic effect.

He also asked Hitler to let him have 130 searchlights. As this was the greater part of the German strategic reserve at that time, Goering objected, but Hitler won him over saying that 'if we use them in such large numbers for a thing like this, other countries will think we're swimming in searchlights'. These searchlights were placed at intervals of forty feet around the stadium positioned to shine vertically. The effect was incredible. The lights reaching to a height of over 20,000 feet created a 'cathedral of light', the reflection of which could be seen at Frankfurt over 100 miles away. Albert Speer says the 'feeling was of a vast room, with the beams, the mighty



The impressive 'Day of the Army' at the 1938 rally at the Zeppelinwiese. Note the prototype of the Fiesler Storch in the rear right of the photograph. (Ullstein).

pillars of infinitely high outer walls'. This remains to him, his most beautiful architectural concept.

The illumination of the pillars at the back of the stand by 1200 spot lights, and 50 powerful kleig lights which illuminated the speaker's platform, the flagpoles and the field itself, together consumed 40,000 kilowatts during one evening. A stone building was specially constructed, in the style of the other constructions, to house the transformers for electricity for the complete area.

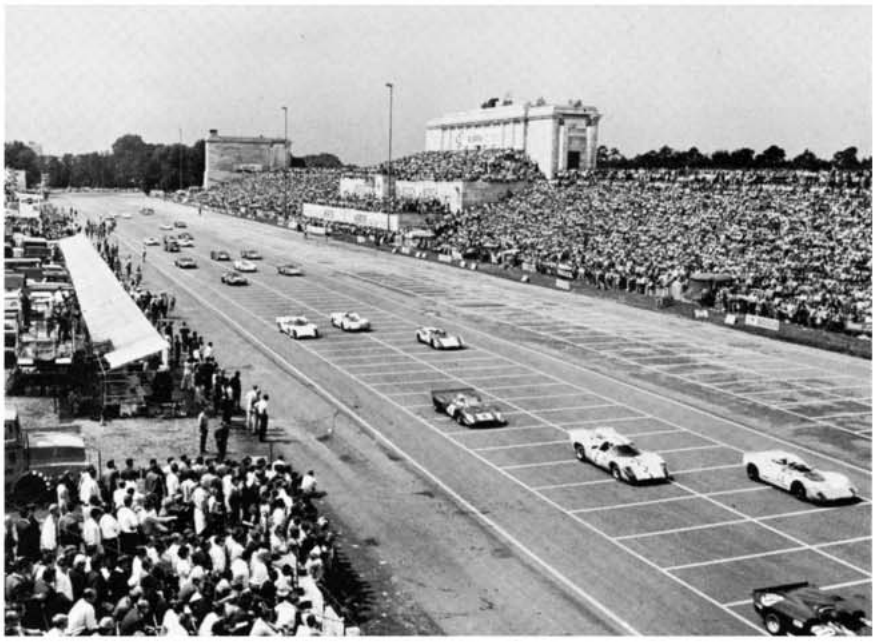
The finishing touches were put on the Zeppelinwiese in 1937. The wooden benches in the grandstand were replaced by solid stone seats. On the high stone walls that flanked the grandstand, pedestals were mounted that bore large metal bowls where open fires were kept burning for the duration of the rally.

The stone floor in front of the grandstand was decorated with tile mosaic. The necessary accommodations for the Red Cross and post offices were provided at the beginning of the 1937 rally. At the back of the grandstand a granite terrace was built, which was connected with the street level by a flight of steps.

Nearly 40,000 oak trees were planted around the Zeppelinwiese to add some green to the stone surroundings. The oak tree was selected because it was an ancient Germanic symbol of strength.

The almost blinding effect of the enormous white building was achieved by the use of natural Jurassic limestone. Folk humour baptized the Zeppelinwiese *"Weisse Wurstchen Wiese"* ("White Sausage Field"), probably because of the row of white pillars behind the tribune. This arena became the principal parade ground for the rallies of the 1930's, the largest and most imposing stage for the spectacle of Nazi power.

Above: The Wehrmacht parade in the Zeppelinwiese, Army Day 1938. (Ullstein).
Below: Today, ice cream and sparking plugs are advertised where Nazi banners once flew. The gold swastika was blown off the top of the stand by US troops in 1945; the columns demolished in 1967. (Nurnberg Bildstelle).



Below left: In May 1915, this was the interior of the Luitpoldhalle used for grain storage. (Nurnberg Bildstelle).
Below right: In September 1933, Hitler was sowing seed of a different sort. (Keystone).

THE LUITPOLDHALLE

In 1906, on the occasion of the 100th anniversary of Bavaria, the city had erected a pavilion near the Zeppelinwiese, a steel construction with large windows and skylights which was later used as a warehouse during the First World War. After their ascent to power the National Socialists used the building for indoor meetings; they called it the Congress Hall.

Renovation of the old industrial exhibition hall was begun in preparation for the Party Day of 1933. The *art nouveau* facades were replaced by more sober rectangular walls, which were decorated with huge swastika banners. The indoor hall was 540 feet long, 150 feet wide, and 50 feet high. The estimated seating capacity was 20,000. The interior walls and the centre posts were covered with fabric, and the posts were decorated with flowers. Seventy-six loudspeakers were distributed throughout the hall. There was room on the stage to seat 130 musicians. In addition, seats

for 750 party functionaries were provided, and two side stands were reserved for the press. Forty-two spotlights, directed toward the ceiling, illuminated the hall. In 1935, an air-cooling system was installed along the ceiling. One of the largest electric organs ever built was set up behind the speaker's stand, with 4,000 pipes ranging from two to forty-eight feet in height. When neon tubes were first developed, in 1935, they immediately replaced the conventional ceiling lighting. The chairs in the hall were hard, which made sitting through the long speeches extremely uncomfortable. Smoking was prohibited during sessions.

The old Congress Hall was used for all indoor meetings during the rallies of the 1930's. Other meetings were held in the centre of Nuremberg — in the Town Hall next to the Hauptmarkt or market place, which Hitler had renamed Adolf Hitler Platz, in the Opera House still standing, and the Kulturvereinhaus, totally destroyed in a British bombing raid on January 2, 1945, which stood next to the hotel Deutscher Hof on the Frauentorgrabenstrasse.

Hitler always stayed at the Deutscher Hof Hotel in rooms 104 and 105. One was furnished as a bedroom, one as a sitting room. It is interesting to note that at that time, the Grand Hotel opposite the station would not have him stay there. After his ascent to power in 1933, Hitler continued to patronise the Deutscher Hof and would take the salute from the hotel balcony. The balcony was destroyed during the war and was not rebuilt.

In 1935 Hitler asked Professor Paul Schulze-Naumberg to submit plans for a giant complex of stadiums, halls and rally grounds at Nuremberg. His plans were rejected by Hitler and Albert Speer once again stepped in the breach. Speer's plans were approved during a drive to Nuremberg, where Hitler was to consider designs submitted by the municipal administration. Speer's plan involved the expenditure of £300m. and a governing body called the Association for the Nuremberg Rally Site was set up to administer the project.

A model of the completed area was exhibited at the 1937 Paris World's Fair (see photograph) which won the Grand Prize.

There were four major constructions — The Marzfeld, the new Congresshalle already designed in 1933 by Ludwig Ruff, the giant German Stadium which was to be the largest stadium in the world holding 400,000 persons and a processional avenue a mile and a quarter long to link all the buildings.

OLD NUREMBERG STADIUM

Designed by Otto Ernst Schweizer, it was built in 1928 in a traditional oval shape as a sports arena. It was incorporated into the general parade complex and was mainly used for sporting events by the Hitler Youth. It was largely undamaged and still used for sporting events after the war, the seating was increased in 1953 and 1964, and floodlighting installed in 1963.

THE MARZFELD

The project was named after Mars, the god of war, and also to commemorate the month in which Hitler introduced conscription.

This was to be an army parade ground of enormous proportions. It measured 3400 ft by 2300 ft, large enough for the army to hold minor manoeuvres. Stands were to surround the area to hold 160,000 spectators. Twenty-four towers each 130 ft high would rise from behind these stands, whilst in their midst was to be the platform of honour crowned by the sculpture of a woman nearly 200 ft high.

THE NEW CONGRESSHALLE

Each new construction began with a yearly cornerstone laying ceremony. These cornerstones were moved into storage after the ceremony to wait until the building had progressed sufficiently to incorporate them into the walls. The cornerstone for the new Congresshalle was laid at the 1935 rally.

Top: Hitler taking the salute in the Hauptmarkt in 1929. (Keystone).
Above: Two dustbins mark the site in 1973!

Albert Speer tells of an amusing anecdote on this occasion. Hitler saw him standing in the second row of dignitaries, who all had their arms raised in the Nazi salute. Speer was so overcome when Hitler interrupted the ceremony to shake hands with him that he let his own outstretched hand fall with a loud smack onto the bald head of Julius Streicher standing in the front row.

The new Congress Hall was to be 670 feet wide, 870 feet long, and 150 feet high. It was to be 1.3 times the length and 1.7 times the width of the Roman Colosseum. The cost of construction was estimated at approximately £25 million. The hall was to provide seats for 40,000 people and standing room for 8,000. The walls were to be decorated with 1,000 flags. The roof was to be supported by eighty-eight columns, each of them fifty-one feet high; the whole project would cover 160,000 square feet. An extensive network of railway tracks was laid around the whole site to facilitate the transportation of building materials, and an estimated 150 freight wagons were used daily for shipments. In 1935-36, a dam was built on the Dutzendteich, a large lake in the vicinity of the parade grounds, to keep the grounds dry.

The Congresshalle was Hitler's favourite project and work on it continued until the winter of 1942-43. When work stopped, the building was approximately half completed. The roof, the second storey, the interior construction, and the stage remained unfinished.

THE GERMAN STADIUM

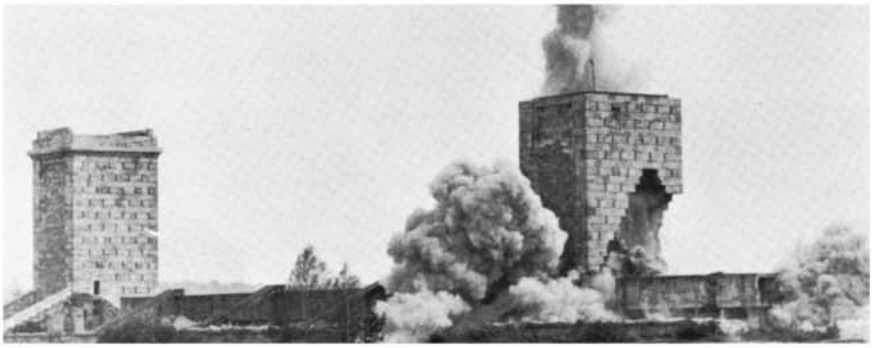
The size of this stadium was intended to surpass all the existing stadiums in the world (which held approximately 100,000 people), and to better the largest stadium known, the Circus Maximus of Roman times, which held nearly 200,000 persons. Its volume would have

Top: Stormtroopers march over the Fleischbrucke on September 12, 1938. Hitler's car can just be seen on the edge of the Hauptmarkt. (Associated Press).

Below: The editor took this matching photograph September 1973, exactly thirty-five years later, from the sixth floor of the Kaiserstrasse Parkhaus.

contained three times that of the pyramid of Cheops in Egypt, and was to be constructed in a large horse-shoe shape 300ft high to seat 400,000 people.

The cornerstone was laid during the rally of 1937 on September 9; the building, like the new Congress Hall, was scheduled to be completed in 1945. The ground was broken in



Top left: Hitler salutes the Hitler Youth in 1938 from the balcony of the Deutscher Hof hotel. (Keystone). The Kulturvereinhaus, shown above second row left (Nurnberg Bildstelle), can be seen on the right of the hotel.
Top right: The Deutscher Hof with *After the Battle's* Land Rover today.
Second row right: The Marzfeld in 1960. (Nurnberg Bildstelle).
Right: The Marzfeld being blown up. (G. Klimiout).
Above: The Transformer Station built to produce the electricity for the entire rally grounds.
Below: The unfinished New Congresshalle today. The Zeppelinwiese can be seen top right. (Nurnberg Bildstelle).

1938; in 1939, a gigantic pit for the foundations was dug, and railway tracks for transporting building materials had been laid. In the middle of the construction area, a temporary tower was erected; it was to be the nerve centre of the construction activities, from which the work could be supervised and directions given over a loudspeaker.

THE PROCESSIONAL AVENUE

A parade avenue, a mile and a quarter long, was to link the Marzfeld with the other arenas. It was to be 264 feet wide, paved with roughened heavy granite slabs, both to bear the weight of tanks and give grip to the feet of the goose-stepping soldiers. The avenue was lined with stone steps for spectators and the saluting base was to be in front of the proposed German Stadium at the half way point. An underpass was constructed where the old Zeppelinstrasse crossed it, which is clearly visible in our aerial photograph.

No rallies were held after 1938, the 1939 rally due to open on September 2, was cancelled on August 26, the eve of the invasion of Poland.

However construction work was not halted by the outbreak of war in 1939. In September 1941, millions of cubic yards of cut and uncut granite were to be provided by the stone industries of the occupied countries and Sweden had a ten year supply contract.

By the beginning of 1943 it was clear, even to Hitler, that efforts to complete the rally grounds must be postponed in view of the deteriorating war situation.

During the war the area was camouflaged as far as possible. House bricks were laid on the steps of the Zeppelinwiese in a pattern, to break up the outline. The outline of the parade avenue was broken up by a squiggly line visible in the aerial photograph on page 31.

By the end of the war the Luitpoldhain and Luitpoldhalle had been severely damaged by bombing and the City authorities decided to remove the stonework and reinstate the area as a park. Although this was done, the focal point of the stadium, the Ehrenmal or War Memorial together with its white squared cobbles remains. One can stand where Hitler stood and still see the banked area of the arena which from any other position is camouflaged as a landscaped park. The inscription on the War Memorial was changed in 1952 to include a dedication to Second War dead.

The Luitpoldhalle site itself is now a parking area next to the Bayernstrasse.

The Zeppelinwiese was taken over by the Americans, the 3rd US Army painted their formation sign on all the stone piers (see photograph). It was used for baseball and an athletic track was laid out on the grass parade area. A motor racing circuit was constructed with pits in front of the grandstand, the circuit continuing behind the stand. Most weekends it echoes to the roar of racing engines. The tiers for the spectators around the field remain overgrown, and in 1967 the columns of the main grandstand were blown up, the official reason being given that they were derelict and a public danger. A story that this was done at the request of and financed by the Jewish community in America, remains unproven.

The work on the Marzfeld did not get beyond the construction of eleven of the towers. These could still be seen in 1960, when they were blown up at the cost of two million marks.

The stone rubble was used to build a sound protection wall for the new estate of Langwasser, which is gradually encroaching on the area. The railway spur line and its station Bahnhof Marzfeld constructed to serve the new parade ground, has been retained but renamed Langwasser.

The New Congresshalle, on the other hand, presented a problem to the embarassed city of Nuremberg after the war. Anxious as it was to forget the past, the cost of its removal would be prohibitive.

The city decided, in 1959, to complete the hall as a sports arena, but to date this has not been pursued. Since 1963 the southern wing has been used for practice by the Nuremberg Symphony orchestra.

When the Americans captured the city in 1945 they disconnected a huge diesel pump which worked throughout the war years, to keep the foundations of the German Stadium dry. The excavations soon filled with water and an artificial lake was formed, now called Silbersee (Silver Lake).

The building materials which had been stockpiled ready for its construction, were used by the city to construct rockeries in the surrounding Dutzendteich park.

The Processional Avenue was used until 1968 by the US Air Force as a landing ground. Now it is used for car parking for those visiting the modern fair grounds. Some of the granite slabs, laid in alternating colours, have cracked and the steps on either side, for the spectators, are overgrown and crumbling.

The SA camping ground (see projected plan), was completed with wooden huts and asphalt roads in 1935-36. From 1949-1960 it served as a refugee camp for stateless persons who lived in the original SA accommodation. The town of Langwasser has now been built over the site.

The SS Barracks, whilst not part of the parade area itself, are an interesting additional construction. They were built in 1938 between the Frankenstrasse and Ingolstadterstrasse to house the SS contingent. They were damaged during the war by bombing and were partly repaired by the military authorities after 1945. They now house a garrison of the US Army.

An underground tramway was built in 1938 between the Oskar-von-Miller-Strasse and Tristan and Tiroler Strasse to avoid traffic jams during parades. It was partly built in concrete tunnels, partly in cuttings.

The whole area still provides a fascinating insight into the plans and dreams of Hitler — the scene of some of the most impressive gatherings of military might the world has ever seen.

Top: The Opera House today on the Frauentorgrabenstrasse next to the Deutscher Hof hotel (on the right), scene of many indoor meetings during rally time.

Right: The 3rd US Army formation sign painted on the towers of the Zeppelinwiese.

Below: The processional avenue as it is today looking north. Used as a US airstrip until 1968.

AFTER THE BATTLE

The battle

By mid-April 1945, the German 1st Army had managed to consolidate the only reasonably co-ordinated Western front defence line before Nuremberg and amassed some 15,000 infantry, 20 artillery battalions and about 100 tanks. It was the task of the US 7th Army, commanded by Lt Gen Alexander M. Patch, to penetrate this line before the enemy could withdraw to the Austrian Alps to conserve his weakened resources and establish an impregnable defensive barrier.

Nuremberg was the hub of Nazism and its loss would be an immense psychological blow to the Germans. The city lies in a broad valley veined by natural waterways and is centred on a complex of roads and railways; from Nuremberg north, the Regnitz River and Ludwig's Canal flow parallel, the latter extending through the city to the south-eastern suburbs with the Regnitz bisecting the northern suburb of Furth. Just over one-third of Nuremberg lies north of the curve formed by the Pegnitz River, which flows from the east to join the Regnitz to the west.

Following an encirclement plan, the US 3rd Division over-ran many small towns and villages and crossed both the Regnitz and Ludwig's Canal on 15th April, aiming to strike due south of the city. All combat elements of the 7th Infantry Regiment had crossed by the 16th and the troops drove to within five miles of Nuremberg. On the left flank, the 45th Division struck south of the Pegnitz and positioned for a two-pronged assault. The 14th Armoured Division and the 106th Cavalry Group threw a protective screen to the south and south-west.

The fighting for Nuremberg was bitter; with relatively few tanks the Germans used their deadly 88-mm flak as artillery, wreaking havoc amongst the attacking infantry. During the advance of the 15th Infantry, Pte Joseph F. Merrell won the Medal of Honour for destroying two machine gun nests single handed.

Both divisions broadened their fronts on the 17th April, the day that 3rd Division elements reached the outskirts of Nuremberg, after capturing AA artillery positions. Medium and heavy XV Corps artillery pounded the German defences, but the well-sited flak guns proved difficult to silence, despite repeated Allied air strikes in support of the ground forces. As the Americans advanced, savage house to house combat developed, but by midnight on April 17th, nearly two-thirds of Nuremberg was in Allied hands.

The 1st Battalion of 30th Infantry Division joined the assault on 18th April, attacking on the left flank and advancing the next day to the medieval walled city in the heart of Nuremberg, the first unit to penetrate it. On the 17th, a second Medal of Honour went to 1st Lt Frank Burke, transportation officer of the 1st Battalion, 15th Infantry, for eliminating 11 German soldiers during the savage street fighting for the modern part of the city.

The old city proper was defended by the German Battle Groups *Dirnagel* and *Rienow*, consisting of SS and Luftwaffe personnel respectively and the 38th Panzer Grenadier Regiment. To make up for the lack of armour, the defenders used hundreds of snipers, mines and booby traps, necessitating the capture of virtually every building by the Americans. The

Above: Nuremberg, photographed after the battle, looking north from the spire of the Lorenz church. The Adolf Hitler Platz can be seen in the centre (IWM). Our comparison taken in 1973 from the same spot, shows no sign of damage.

Luftwaffe, too, appeared in some strength and US AA units were kept busy warding off fighter-bomber strikes. Nuremberg's civilian population fought alongside the German Army and it was a full two days before resistance began to crumble.

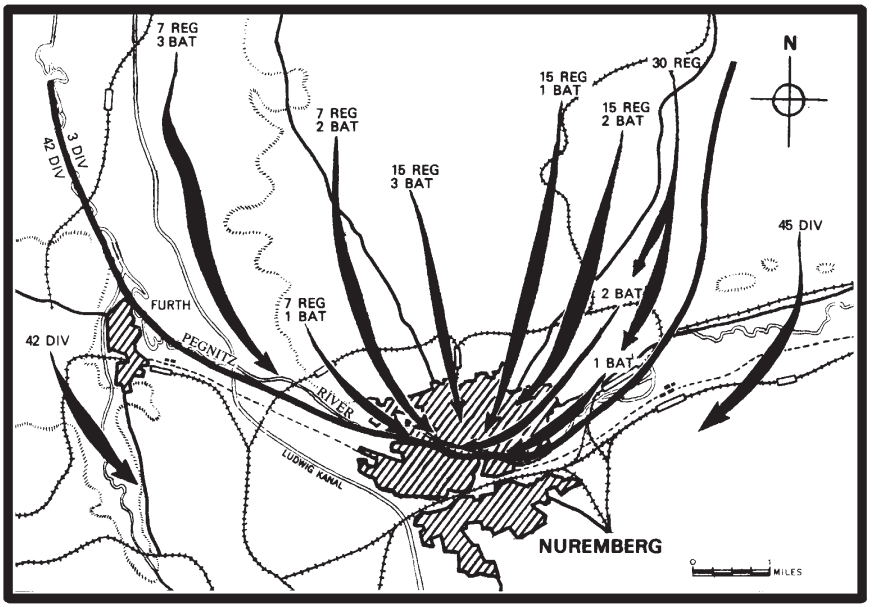
The 15th Infantry, making for the Pegnitz River, running through the heart of the town, faced a bloody advance into the old city on the 19th April, the day of the final drive to take the birthplace of Nazism. The 30th Infantry was committed to a wide flanking movement from the north-east and had also reached the old city by the 19th.

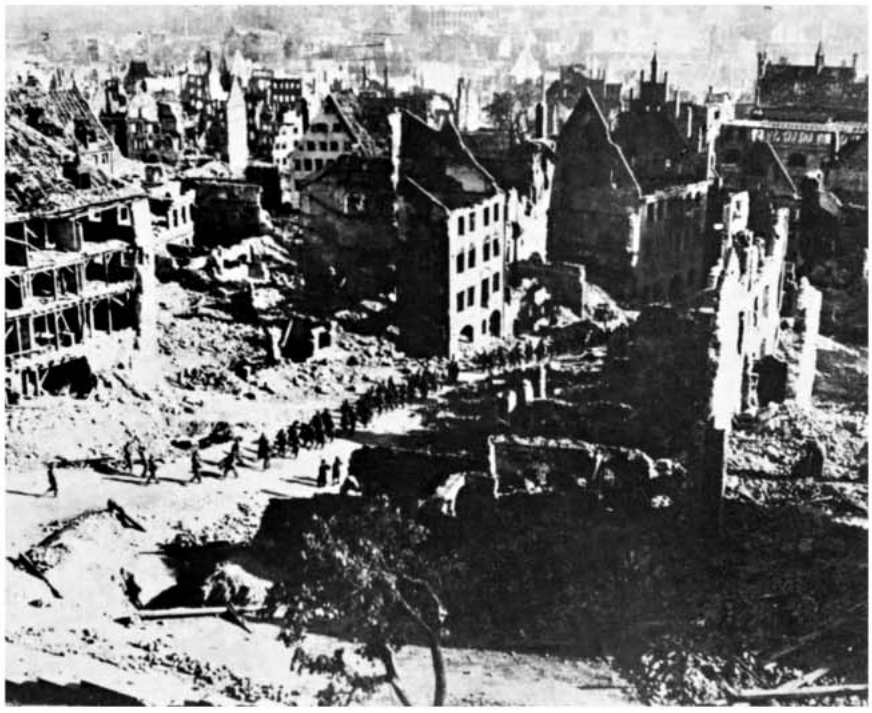
At 04.00 hrs the next day, a German counter attack was repulsed after a number of US casualties and many individual acts of heroism. A third Medal of Honour was won at this time by 1st Lt Michael J. Daly for outstanding leadership in the face of enemy fire.

Just before noon on 20th April, 1945 — Hitler's birthday — American GIs were renaming Adolf Hitler Platz, Iron Mike Square, in honour of the 3rd Division Commanding General, Maj Gen John W. O'Daniel, known to his intimates as "Iron Mike". Meanwhile, 7th Infantry units had reached the city centre from the south, meeting stiff resistance on the main road from Thon into Nuremberg. The 7th reached the square at noon and withdrew to assembly areas later that day — the first rest the men had had in four days.

The 7th's 1st Battalion hit the north-west area of the city and had crossed the Pegnitz by 14.30 on the 19th, entering the old city the next morning. All units experienced intense small arms, machine gun and anti-tank gun fire.

On 20th April, "the most German of all cities" fell. Resistance north of the Pegnitz River ceased and over 17,000 prisoners had been taken. The last chance for the Germans to hold a line west of Munich had gone and the seat of Nazi law and propaganda was lost. The famous Zeppelinwiese, site of the great





Top right: GI's file down the Bergstrasse, pictured in 1945. (IWM).
Top left: The street now rebuilt, is photographed by the editor in 1973 from the castle.
Right: American soldiers on Hitler's platform at the Zeppelinwiese. (IWM).
Above: In our comparison, the editor's wife and son watch preparations for a motor-race.
Below: Nuremberg Bahnhof. Hitler arrives for a rally and prepares to drive to the Deutscher Hof hotel. (Associated Press).
Below centre: Captain H. W. Wyre and Private W. C. Kaufman in their jeep outside the station in 1945. (IWM).
Below right: We persuaded a soldier to park his 1973 type jeep on the same spot, now in the middle of a tram stop. He agreed for the sake of 'posterity'!

Nazi rallies, was witness to a much more modest — but equally significant — ceremony when the Stars and Stripes was raised over the giant gold Swastika dominating the stadium.

J. C. SCUTTS.

Nuremberg was largely destroyed in the battle for the city, both by the fierce fighting, shelling and the bombing and strafing attacks. Much damage was also caused by a mis-directed bombing attack on the industrial suburbs on January 7, 1945. This can clearly be seen from the photograph taken in 1945, from the spire of the Lorenz Church.

Now rebuilt, few signs remain in 1973 of the devastation. The odd ruin tucked away which has yet to be cleared remains. Many of the pockmarked churches and buildings have had the bullet holes cemented over, but have dried a different colour to the stone and, especially on the Palace of Justice, the spotted effect is most noticeable.

The Americans still maintain a large base at Furth, a suburb of Nuremberg, and the American Military Hotel is directly opposite the main railway station. Their transport — jeeps and lorries — can be seen daily and are a constant reminder of the American battle for the city.

Above: The ruins of the Adolf Hitler Platz, scene of many parades in pre-war Germany (see page 34). Karl Holtz, the Nazi gauleiter of Nuremberg had spoken from the platform just before the battle telling civilians that victory was in sight! (IWM). Our comparison was taken in 1973 of the renamed Hauptmarkt.

Right: Soldiers of the 45th Division mount the weed-covered steps of the Luitpoldhain, carrying the Stars and Stripes (IWM).

Above: The editor with his son at the same spot in September 1973.

Below right: A soldier of the US 7th Army stands guard in the Zeppelinwiese. The bricks were laid on the steps of the grandstand for camouflage and netting draped over Hitler's platform. (IWM).

Below: The editor on the same spot 28 years later. Ice-cream is advertised in place of the swastika.

AFTER THE BATTLE

The trial

The idea of bringing the top Nazi leaders and organisations to trial had been publicly stated as early as 1941 by Winston Churchill who said that 'retribution for those crimes must henceforth take its place among the major purposes of this war'.

The United Nations War Crimes Commission was established on October 7, 1942, to draw up lists of war criminals who would be tried at the end of the war.

An extensive study was made by the US War, State and Justice Departments during the war and it was discussed in general terms at the 1945 Yalta conference.

In 1945 the American judge, Samuel I. Rosenman, represented the United States abroad, to obtain agreement with the Allies on the form the trial should take.

Opinions had conflicted over the years on the method of trial — US Secretary of State Hull, amongst others, thought that the Germans should be tried by a drumhead court-martial. Winston Churchill wanted the top leaders taken out and shot without any preliminaries.

Judge Rosenman presented a suggested programme to the Foreign Ministers of Britain, France and Russia at San Francisco but decision was deferred and then delegated to the United States Chief Prosecutor, Justice Robert H. Jackson. His report was published on June 7, 1945.

Negotiations between Britain, France, the United States and Soviet Union culminated in the London Agreement concluded on August 8, 1945 by the four nations who were acting on behalf of the United Nations (the 26 countries who had gone to war with Germany), establishing the charter for an International Military Tribunal. Twenty-four Nazis and six organisations were named for indictment.

THE INDICTMENT

This was presented at the first public session of the Tribunal held in Berlin on October 18, 1945. The indictment contained four charges which were:-

1. A common plan or conspiracy to seize power and establish a totalitarian regime to prepare and wage a war of aggression.
2. Wage a war of aggression.
3. Violation of the laws of war.
4. Crimes against humanity, persecution and extermination.

THE PREPARATIONS

The Russians wanted the trial to be held in Berlin but no building large enough to house the proceedings remained undamaged.

It has often been wrongly assumed that Nuremberg was chosen because of its associations with the Nazi Party. In effect it proved to be the only city with an undamaged court and prison large enough to accomodate the hundreds of people involved.

The Palace of Justice in the western part of Nuremberg, which is connected to a large prison, proved to be relatively undamaged and had a court room which could hold 600 people. There were also hundreds of offices available for the lawyers and staff.

The adjacent prison was necessity to house, not only the accused, but the large number of German prisoners who the Allies wished to interrogate.

The court room was on the second floor of the Palace of Justice. A lift enabled each of the accused to be brought directly to the court room.

Microphones were installed in the dock, because the trial was to be conducted in four languages, English, French, German and Russian. Every seat in the court, for the accused, judges, lawyers, press and visitors alike, was fitted with headphones and a switch. A group of interpreters would listen through headphones to the proceedings and repeat them in other languages. The translated version of what was said was then relayed to every person in court. By using the switch, it was possible to hear the proceedings in either of the four languages. The system worked well during the trial, had few breakdowns and saved immense time.

THE EVIDENCE

The idea that several victors would try war criminals together was new. In previous wars the accused had appeared before courts of several different countries for crimes committed against that particular country.

Above: The inside of the court room during the opening session. Note the lights for filming and the camera opposite the accused, who are in the dock in the bottom right of the picture. (Associated Press).

Below: The repaired Palace of Justice photographed September, 1973.

Bottom: The Palace of Justice on Judgement Day, September 30, 1946.

The result of setting up an International Tribunal meant that each of the accused would be tried only once instead of possibly 23 times!

At the end of the war there was a public demand for getting on with the trial and as this started only six months after the defeat of Germany, was met at the cost of careful preparation and organisation of the case. Robert Jackson, the US Prosecutor has said that 'a longer period of preparation would have reduced the trial time and would have enabled us to present a more compact case in a more workmanlike manner.'

The Americans arrived first at Nuremberg and put in a tremendous amount of preparatory work. They had examined 100,000 German documents and prepared translations of 4,000 to be used as evidence. A screen and projector were installed in the courtroom for showing motion picture films to be used as evidence.

Each of the four Allies had about 600 people working in Nuremberg.

THE TRIBUNAL

The Tribunal was made up of four members; one judge from each Allied power with four judges in reserve. The President, Lord Justice Geoffrey Lawrence, was British, a decision which proved to be a wise choice. During the months of trial, when arguments became heated and protracted, his courtesy and patience were remarkable. The alternate President was Sir William N. Birkett.

The United States judges were Francis Biddle and Judge John J. Parker; France, M. le Professeur Donnedieu de Vabres and M. le Conseiller Robert Falco and the Soviet Union Major General Jurisprudence I. T. Nikitchenko and Lieutenant Colonel A. F. Volchkov. During the proceedings the judges appeared in their judicial robes except for the Russians who wore military uniforms.

THE ACCUSED

At the end of hostilities the Americans had 300 major war criminals awaiting trial. The Russians were thought to have 500 but agreed that the chief criminals were easy to identify. Initially 24 Germans were accused but in the event only 22 were brought to trial. Robert Ley committed suicide before the start of the trial by making a noose from rags torn from a towel, which he had tied to a toilet pipe, and Gustav Krupp was dismissed from the proceedings because of his age and infirmity. Martin Bormann was tried in his absence as it was not confirmed at that time whether or not he had been killed in the battle for Berlin.

As many of the accused had only the clothes in which they were arrested, a suit was made for each of them by a Nuremberg tailor. These suits were only to be worn at the trial and were taken off as soon as the accused returned to his cell.

No military insignia could be worn and German military ranks were not recognised by the Allies. If they had done so it would have been necessary to follow the Geneva Convention on the treatment of prisoners of war, who under it could not be held in solitary confinement.

The defendants were housed in separate cells, outside each of which a guard was stationed, day and night. They could not talk to each other except during recess times in the dock. A twenty minute exercise period was allowed each day.

After leaving their cells for the courtroom, each of the accused came through a series of checkpoints. Their arrival was telephoned to the next guard before moving on finally to a lift which travelled directly into the court room.

THE TRIAL

This began on November 20, 1945 with each of the accused being indicted in turn and stepping up to the microphone to plead not guilty.

From that day the court sat five or five and a half days each week except for short recesses at holiday times, until August 31, 1946, a total of 216 days of trial.

The prosecution called 33 witnesses as well as producing documents, photographs and films.

The defendants called 61 witnesses and produced statements by a further 143, of whom 19 took the stand.

The entire proceedings were recorded in the language spoken at the time.

THE JUDGEMENT

The judgement, delivered on September 30 and October 1, 1946, was a careful review of the facts and laws involved in the first international criminal trial in history.

It found 19 of the 22 defendants guilty on one or more counts of the indictment, and acquitted three, although the Russian judge did not agree with the latter decision. It sentenced 12 to death by hanging, three to imprisonment for life and four others to terms of 10-20 years imprisonment.

After the trial, the United States tried 199 people between 1945 and 1949 in the Nuremberg courts. Of these 38 were acquitted, 36 sentenced to death (18 of whom were executed), 23 to life imprisonment and 102 to shorter terms. In the event most life sentences were cut to seven years.

German De-Nazification courts were set up in the American Zone which defined four catagories of Nazi: major offenders, offenders, lesser offenders and followers. The three aquitted at the main trial, Schacht, Von Papen and Fritzsche were tried under these courts and sentenced to terms of imprisonment.

A table of the indicted with the charges, verdicts and sentences is set out on this page.

Above: The cell in which Hermann Goering committed suicide. (Associated Press).

Below: The prisoners were kept in the cells on the left. Those to be executed walked down the steps and into the gymnasium on the right where the gallows had been installed. It is now used as a workshop for present-day prisoners. (Associated Press).

THE EXECUTIONS

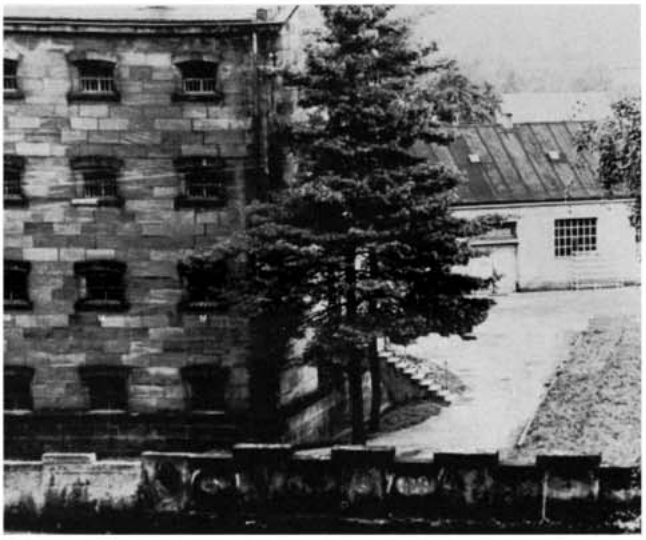
The executions were carried out by Master Sergeant John C. Wood of San Antonio, Texas. In private life he was a professional hangman who had already executed 299 people.

On October 16, 1946, at 1.11 a.m. Ribbentrop mounted the gallows set up in the gymnasium of the prison. He was followed at short intervals by Keitel, Kaltenbrunner, Rosenberg, Frank, Frick, Streicher, Seyss-Inquart, Sanckel, and Jodl.

Hermann Goering cheated the hangman. Two hours before his turn would have come he committed suicide by swallowing poison that had been smuggled into his cell.

In order to avoid any possibility of a shrine being erected to them on a burial site, their bodies were taken to the only crematorium in Munich and the ashes scattered on the nearby River Isar.

	Charges Counts				*Verdicts Counts*				*Sentence*
	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	
Hermann Wilhelm Goering	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	
Joachim von Ribbentrop	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	
Wilhelm Keitel	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	
Alfred Jodl	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	
Alfred Rosenberg	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	
Wilhelm Frick	X	X	X	X		X	X	X	
Artur Seyss-Inquart	X	X	X	X		X	X	X	Death
Fritz Sauckel	X	X	X	X			X	X	
Martin Bormann	X		X	X			X	X	
Ernst Kaltenbrunner	X		X	X			X	X	
Hans Frank	X		X	X			X	X	
Julius Streicher	X			X				X	
Erich Raeder	X	X	X	X	X	X	X		
Walter Funk	X	X	X	X		X	X	X	Life
Rudolf Hess	X	X	X	X	X	X			
Albert Speer	X	X	X	X			X	X	20 years
Baldur von Schirach	X			X				X	
Constantin von Neurath	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	15 years
Karl Doenitz	X	X	X			X	X		10 years
Hans Fritzsche	X		X	X					Acquitted
Franz von Papen	X	X							
Hjalmar Schacht	X			X					



AFTER THE BATTLE

PRESERVATION

Royal Small Arms Pattern Room

The finest collection of preserved breach-loading firearms in Europe and, unquestionably, the most comprehensive collection in the United Kingdom, is in the Pattern Room of the Royal Small Arms factory at Enfield Lock, Middlesex. The collection amounts to more than 3000 items, from pen-guns to anti-tank guns; from early breach conversions to the latest rocket pistol.

Initially the Pattern Room was used to retain the prototypes and production pattern models for those British firearms made at the Small Arms factory.

After the First World War, the collection assumed its present form, following the capture of many German weapons, and subsequent to World War II, became an internationally orientated collection by the acquisition of one example of nearly every weapon, be it pistol, rifle, sub machine gun, heavy machine gun or anti-tank weapon, produced throughout the world.

Before the last war, many of the foreign weapons were obtained for evaluation through the offices of British military attaches abroad. This included the prototype of the ZB26 machine-gun from Czechoslovakia, which led to the subsequent production of it as the Bren. Subsequently much material was retained from the defeated Axis powers, arms amnesties in the United Kingdom and many Russian and Chinese weapons from campaigns in the Middle and Far East.

The Pattern Room collection is divided into several sections, the ground floor being devoted to both cartridge and recoil-less anti-tank guns, aircraft cannon and machine guns, and various mountings for the anti-aircraft use of automatic weapons.

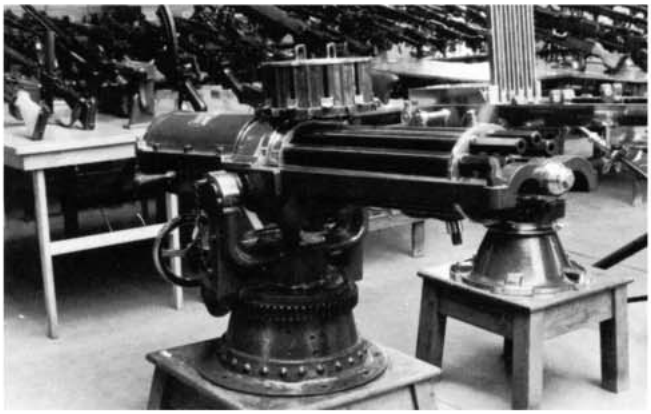
On the first floor the collection is segregated into rifles, assault rifles, in view of their current popularity, having their own corner, light and heavy machine guns, with a separate room for pistols, sub-machine guns and ammunition.

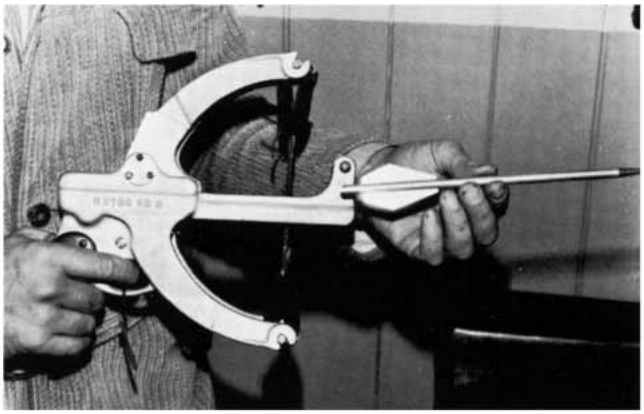
With such a variety of weapons, the security angle plays a very important part, and every conceivable device is used to protect the collection.

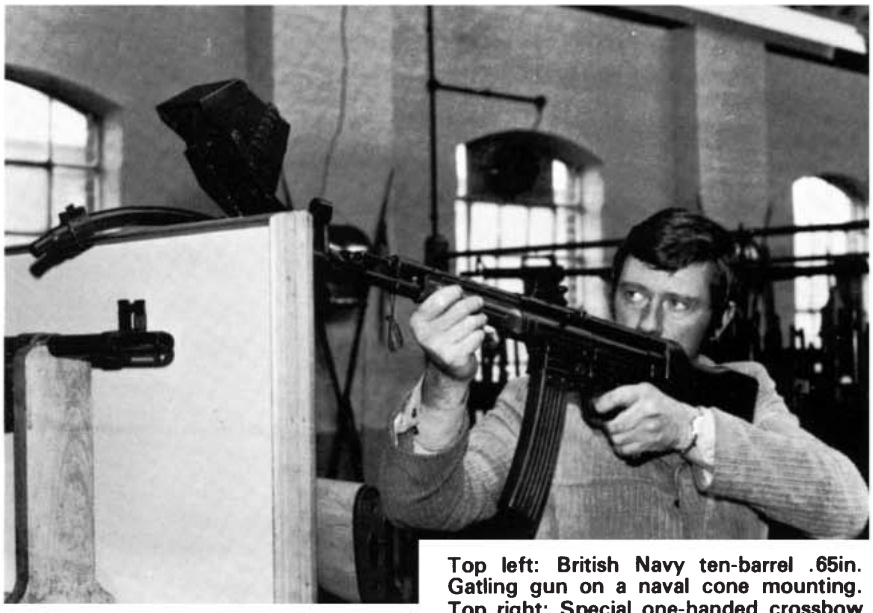
Within this short article it is impossible to do justice to any but a few examples chosen for their unusual background or design, but we hope our photographs impart the comprehensiveness of the collection.

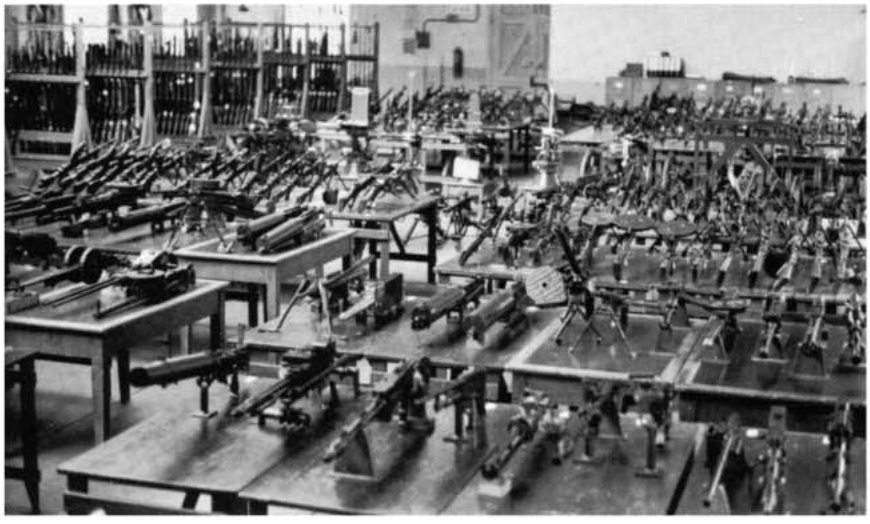
Top: Assault rifles, the 'in' weapon for todays infantry, are a major feature of the Pattern Room collection.

Right: An *After the Battle* researcher holds the US Special Forces version of the Armalite AR15, the .223in. Colt Commando.









Top left: British Navy ten-barrel .65in. Gatling gun on a naval cone mounting.
Top right: Special one-handed crossbow used by the US Office of Strategic Services in WWII.
Above left: British made WWII belt rig using a .32in. Colt. This would be concealed by a coat, and on capture, would be fired with the finger operated cable release in a 'hands-up' attitude.
Above: German STG44 assault rifle, WWII, with bent barrel and periscope sight.
Left: Russian RPG7 40mm anti-tank rocket launcher with armour-piercing rocket.
Below left: A general view of part of the collection.
Below: British .45in. Maxim machine gun on field mounting.

AFTER THE BATTLE

WAR FILMS IN THE MAKING & UNITED KINGDOM COMBINED

The escapes of Franz von Werra

Above: Von Werra's Me 109 at Curtisden Green, Kent. The crash site has now been planted with an orchard. (Kent Messenger).

Right: THE FILM. The replica Me109 and Hardy Kruger in a field at Iver, Bucks.

Below: The teachers' training centre at Cockfosters as it is today.

Bottom: THE FILM. An original copy of 'Hor mit mir' dated August 24, 1940, with the face of Hardy Kruger superimposed on that of the real von Werra.

The escapes of Franz von Werra, his return to Germany and his portrayal by Hardy Kruger (who himself was captured by the Americans in WWII) in the film 'The One That Got Away' is well known. What has not been done before is to show the exact locations where these exploits took place, and, as our feature on England, we have re-constructed the story photographically. As the film was made at several of the original locations, we are combining our regular feature on war films, and have used stills from the film to illustrate more graphically what happened. Stills from the film are captioned as such. The story is told from the book 'The One That Got Away' by Kendal Burt and James Leasor.

THE CRASH

The actual crash was witnessed by several men loading boxes of fruit on to a lorry in the yard of Love's Farm. They had been startled out of their workaday unconcern by a long burst of Lewis-gun fire from the nearby searchlight battery. Then a plane just cleared the trees on Winchet Hill and swooped over the farm buildings in a right-hand turn. It disappeared momentarily behind the orchard a little higher up on the other side of the road, and came into view again just as it was about to land, its wheels retracted, in a field a quarter of a mile away. It bounced off the ground a few feet, then ploughed up the stubble for thirty yards or so before coming to rest in a cloud of dust.

Von Werra was taken under armed escort by Army vehicle to Headquarters, Kent County Constabulary, Maidstone. Pending the arrival of an RAF field interrogation officer, he was placed in a cell under the charge of Police Sergeant W. Harrington.

That evening he was handed over to the Army and taken to Maidstone Barracks, where he spent the night in a detention cell.

THE INTERROGATIONS

The next morning an officer and two armed guards called for him and he was bundled into the back of an Army truck and driven off towards London.

Eventually they came to a large park and drove through a gateway into a quiet, tree-lined, private road. The truck turned into the gateway of the second house on the left. Two Military Policemen were on guard on either side of the gate. The gate itself was surmounted by strands of barbed wire, and there were black, billowing coils of it rising twelve feet high above the garden walls.

Above: The cells at Maidstone Barracks. Fixings for barbed wire remain but the exercise yard has been demolished.
Above right: Site of London District POW Cage, 8 Kensington Palace Gardens.

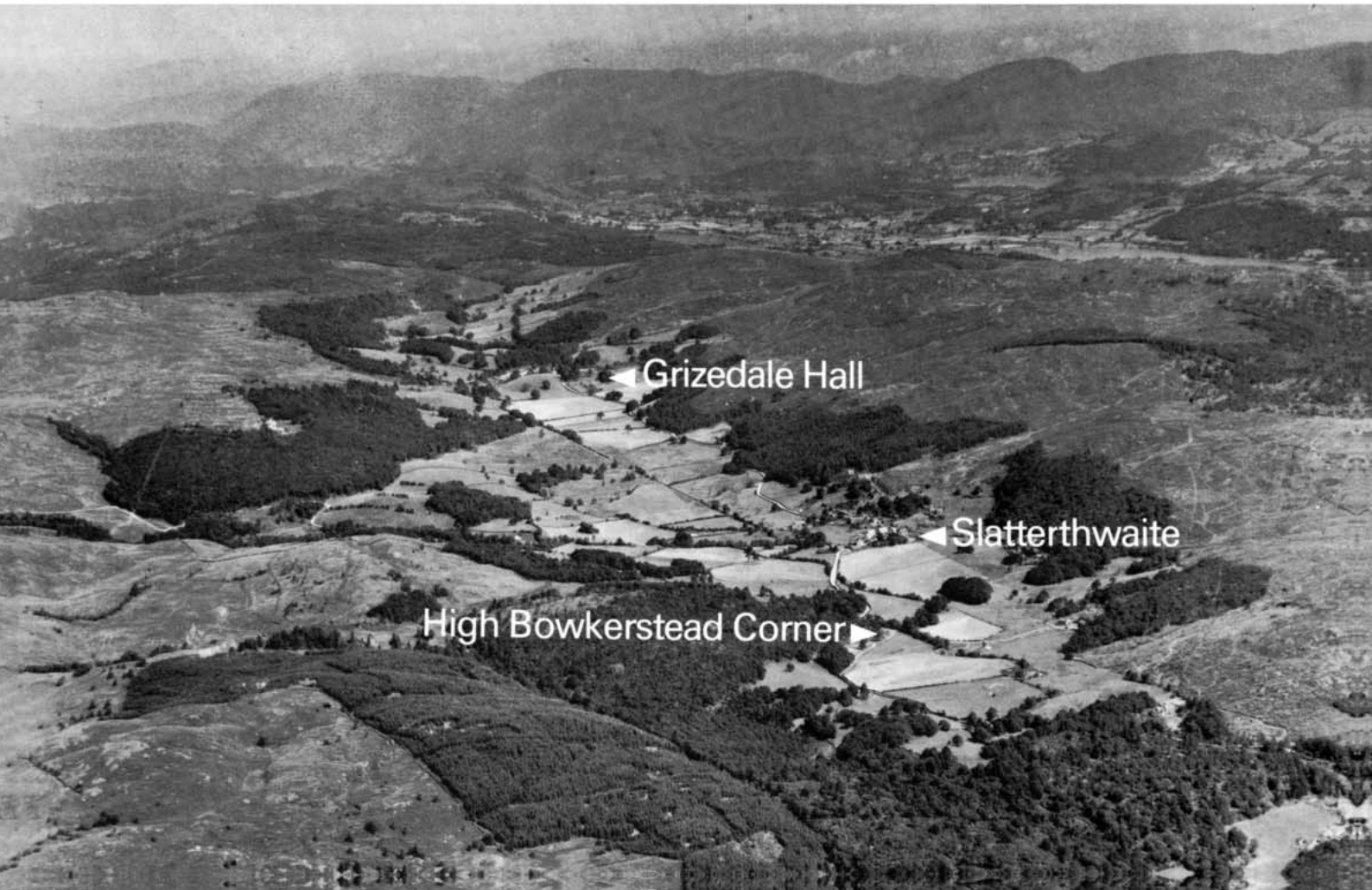
Oberleutnant Franz von Werra had arrived at London District Prisoner-of-war Cage. Here he was interrogated in Room 13 before being returned to the truck.

The truck emerged into the quiet road, then turned right along the side of Hyde Park.

It was late afternoon. After many twists and turns and halts at traffic lights, they came on to a busy main road leading out of town. Von Werra judged by the position of the sun that they were travelling in a northerly direction.

They passed through the northern outskirts of London, and then turned off on to a side road. Presently they halted at some lodge gates, set in a high wall. A tall, burly man in civilian clothes examined the officer's papers, there was a murmured exchange of passwords, and the truck moved off along the drive of a huge park.

Above: THE FILM. Grizedale Hall used in the film, was demolished in 1957.
Left: Only the terrace remains today. A camp for tourists has replaced the prisoners.
Below: Von Werra's first escape. The prisoners marched from Grizedale Hall through Slatterthwaite to the corner by High Bowkerstead Farm. (Aerofilms).



Above: THE FILM. After dropping over the wall von Werra, crouching, ran along behind it.
Right: Our picture shows how the road bends and dips out of sight of the guards. Von Werra crossed the road in the dip and entered the woods.

The vehicle proceeded a little farther and then stopped. Von Werra was ordered to get out. He saw that they were at one end of a huge mansion built round three sides of a square.

Von Werra heard later that it was "Cook Foster", and that is how the name appears in his autobiography and in the official reports he eventually came to write.

After further extensive interrogations lasting two weeks, von Werra was returned to the London District Cage for another four days.

Late on the fourth night, at the end of a long and acrimonious interrogation, von Werra was told he would be sent to a permanent prison camp for officers the next morning. The interrogators had finished with him at last. They had worked on him for three weeks. During that time he had not knowingly given away any military information whatsoever.

GRIZEDALE HALL

Von Werra arrived at Officers' POW Camp No. 1, Grizedale Hall, in the Lake District, towards the end of September 1940. At that time it was the only camp in the country for captured officers.

Within ten days of arriving at Grizedale Hall Camp, von Werra had devised a plan for a solo escape.

He worked out the details and completed the preparations as far as he could, and then asked the senior German officer, Major Fansela, for permission to submit the scheme to the Escape Committee for "official" approval.

Two days later, on Monday October 7, 1940, Franz von Werra and twenty-three other German officers, led by Hauptmann Pohle, set out on a route march from Grizedale Hall, at 2 p.m. In the meantime Major Fanelsa had asked the Camp Commandant to change the time of the walks from 10.30 a.m. to 2 p.m. as the morning walks interfered with the educational classes at the camp. The real reason was that by escaping in the afternoon instead of the morning, von Werra would only have three, instead of seven hours to wait for nightfall, when he could move with greater security. There would also be less time for the hunt to get under way before darkness fell.

The prisoners were escorted by one British officer, two NCOs—one of them mounted—and seven men. They carried side arms or rifles. Later, the camp authorities were unable to find out who had given the order for the party to turn southwards at the camp gates. The mounted sergeant, who was usually in charge of the party, said he did not give the order, as on this occasion an officer was taking part in the walk. The officer said he hadn't. In point of fact, the order was given, according to a prearranged plan, by Hauptmann Pohle. The leading guards never suspected that a German had given the order, and obediently wheeled to the left.

The party passed through the village of Satterthwaite, and ten minutes later approached High Bowkerstead corner, where the halt was always made. As soon as von Werra turned the bend and looked southwards down the road, his heart fell. The unforeseen had happened. On all the previous outings he had made from the camp, he had seen only a few people and hardly ever a car or lorry. But now, a quarter of a mile away, coming towards them, was a man with a horse and cart.

The party halted. The guards took up their positions, the prisoners moved across to the wall, the sergeant halted his horse in front of the big boulder on the opposite side of the road, and the officer stood nearby. He instantly ordered back the prisoner detailed to distract the sergeant's attention by moving across the road to pat the horse.

Von Werra dared not move because the man with the horse and cart would have seen him on the meadow side of the wall. However, he got into position and waited, sick with suspense and frustration. The minutes of the rest period ticked by. The horse and cart approached the bend with maddening slowness.

As the cart drew nearer, von Werra saw that it was loaded with fruits and vegetables. The driver was the local greengrocer. Instead of ruining von Werra's plan, he proved to be its saviour, for when he reached the party he provided the perfect distraction. As the cart drew level von Werra hoisted himself on to the wall, keeping as low as possible, and stretched himself out on his back on the coats covering the loose, jagged stones. He was completely hidden behind his carefully grouped companions. After a moment an elbow nudged him urgently. Simultaneously, he rolled over and dropped into the meadow, landing neartly on his hands and toes. It worked perfectly. No sound was heard above the loud chattering of the prisoners. Not a stone was dislodged.

CAPTURE AND RECAPTURE

Even in the remotest and wildest parts of the Lake District, there are many small stone huts, known as "hoggarths", used for storing sheep fodder. They are built in the same manner as fell walls—flat stones piled on top of one another without mortar binding—and usually they abut on to these walls.

Following von Werra's escape, police visited outlying farms and requested that all such buildings be padlocked and specially watched. At night, small patrols of Home Guards visited each "hoggarth" in turn, however high up on the fells, in their particular area. In view of the almost continuous rainfall since von Werra escaped, it was believed that sooner or later he was bound to try to shelter in one of these huts.

This is the stone building or 'hoggarth' where von Werra was recaptured. He was taken down the field at the rear, and when he reached the gate by the road, escaped again.

At about 11 p.m. on Thursday October 10, two Home Guards were patrolling fells in the Broughton Mills area, only four or five miles from the coast. Both were shepherds by calling. They were searching isolated huts on the moor between the Lickle and Kirby valleys. The older man carried a sporting gun, and the younger had a Colt in a holster at his waist. The latter also had a carbide bicycle lamp fitted with a hinged blackout hood. It was pitch dark and pouring with rain.

They came to a hut high on the fell overlooking the Lickle valley. The padlocked door had been forced open.

The light from the lamp fell on the white face and hands, and the glittering eyes, of a man standing a few feet inside. He was clutching a stick.

His clothes were dark with dampness and splashed with mud. His boots, the heels worn down and the toes turned up, looked like a tramp's throw-outs. He was freshly shaven and his face looked thin and drawn.

One of the Englishmen tied a cord round the man's right wrist, and wound the other end several times round the palm of his own left hand. The other gripped the man's left arm firmly above the elbow.

They set off into the blackness down a steep and slippery hill, the younger Home Guard carrying the lamp in his right hand and gripping the cord with his left.

As they reached the road, von Werra pulled his right hand, to which the cord was attached, behind his back, throwing the Home Guard who was holding it off his balance. Then, wrenching his right arm free, he struck out at him. The man went sprawling backwards. The lamp fell to the ground and went out. The prisoner jumped out of reach of the other Home Guard and at the same time snatched with all his might with his bound wrist. The cord came free. The man had probably opened his hand as he fell. The manoeuvre was perfectly timed and was all over in an instant.

Into the darkness. Back up the hill to the left, where von Werra knew there was a wood. The older man with the useless sporting gun was panting a few feet behind him, but he soon fell back. He was not running for his freedom.

From daybreak on Saturday October 12, the sixth day of von Werra's freedom, police and troops began searching the woods, working south from Stonythwaite. Bloodhounds were used. The searchers reached the road running off west to Eskdale at about 2.30. No trace of the fugitive had been found, but this was not discouraging as it was believed he might be farther south. The prospects of rounding him up the next day, Sunday, seemed excellent.

During the night, the Eskdale road would be guarded in case he attempted to break back into the area already searched.

Superintendent W. S. Brown, in charge of a contingent of the Cumberland and Westmorland Constabulary, was waiting in a police car at the top of the hill above the Traveller's Rest Inn when the searchers reached that point at 2.30. After consulting with Lieutenant Blackburn, in charge of the party of about seventy troops from Ulverston, he agreed to call off the hunt for that day. At twenty minutes to three the searchers moved off down the hill from Hazel Farm to the Traveller's Rest for a much-needed "quick one" before closing time.

While they were drinking their pints, shouts were heard coming from the top of the hill. A man on Bleak Haw, 350 feet above the road, was making beckoning sweeps with his right arm and cupping his left hand to his mouth.

"Tally-ho! Tally-ho!" he shouted, having seen a man walking along the side of the fell wall about half a mile away.

Nevertheless, by the time the search party got up the hill, the man had disappeared.

Then, as they watched the backs of the searchers, some of whom were now partly hidden in a fold in the fell, Mr. Staples noticed a slight movement among some tufts of coarser grass on a patch of damp ground only twenty yards from where they stood.

"Look!" he exclaimed.

He ran to the spot. The damp patch looked firm, but he sank ankle deep in mud and water.

He almost trod on the man before he saw him.

"Here he is!"

Oberleutnant Franz von Werra was lying on his back, his body and arms sunk in the mud, with only his white, freshly shaven face showing between two clumps of coarse grass.

A few minutes later he was handcuffed.

On his return to the camp, he was taken before the Commandant, who was correct without being friendly, business-like without being brusque. He sentenced von Werra to twenty-one days' close confinement for attempting to escape.

Early on November 3, 1940, two days before he was due to be released from the 'cooler', von Werra was handed his few belongings in a kitbag and told to be ready to leave immediately for another camp 'somewhere in the Midlands'.

SWANWICK

POW (Officers') Transit Camp No. 13 was a converted country house, called The Hayes, half a mile from the village of Swanwick, on the main road between Alfreton and Ripley.

Within a few days of his arrival at Swanwick von Werra decided, after examining the various possibilities and discussing them with Wagner and a few other prisoners, that if he was to escape at all from Swanwick it would have to be through a tunnel excavated from a room in the north wing of the Garden House.

It was proposed to begin the tunnel from an unused room near von Werra's in the north wing. It would lead under the two security fences and the lane in between them, and emerge in a small triangular patch of waste ground on which there were a few trees and bushes for cover. It would pass only a few feet from the base of the watch tower at the north-east corner of the Garden House, and the exit would be only about fifteen yards away from the tower.

Disposal of earth was a problem. There would be far too much from a tunnel 13 metres long to get rid of down the lavatories.

THE FILM. Hardy Kruger as von Werra above the road at High Bowkerstead corner.

Von Werra and his associates racked their brains to find a solution.

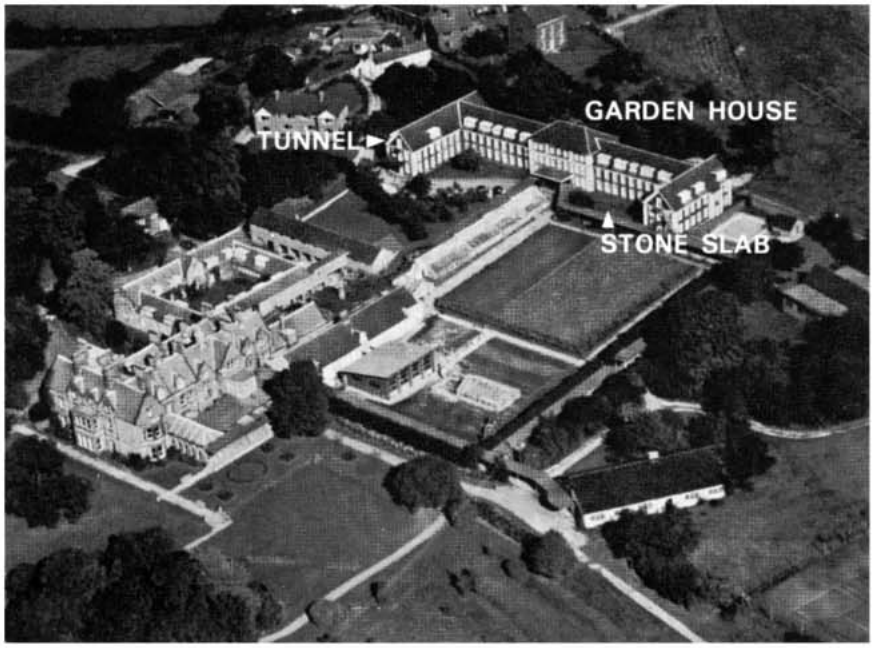
Then they discovered a large stone slab on the lawn in front of the Garden House.

Underneath the stone was a circular hole two feet in diameter. About six feet down there was water. At first it was thought to be a well, but when it was examined with the aid of several flower canes "borrowed" from the out-of-bounds potting shed and fitted together like a fishing rod, it was found to be a huge underground tank used to store rainwater from the roof of the Garden House. It was big enough to take all the earth from a tunnel double the length of the one proposed.

After exactly one month's hard work, the completed tunnel was ready for use on the night of December 17.

Below: The editor's son stands in the exact position where von Werra was captured on Hesk Fell.

Right: THE FILM. How this scene was re-enacted in the film.



The Hayes Conference Centre at Swanwick as it is today. The position of the tunnel is arrowed.

At 8.15 p.m. on December 20, after shaking hands with his friends, he crawled through the tunnel with four others. After several scares from sentries he crawled away from the tunnel exit. He separated from the others and waited by a barn until 3.00 a.m. when he set off across the fields. Von Werra's plan was to get to the nearest RAF aerodrome and steal an aeroplane and accordingly he was dressed in a flying suit, posing as a Dutch pilot. He reached a railway line and seeing an engine driver on a train in a siding he gave his story.

"I am Captain van Lott, formerly of the Royal Dutch Air Force, now serving with the RAF. I've just made a forced landing in a Wellington after being hit by flak in a raid over Denmark. I must get to the nearest RAF aerodrome as quickly as possible. Can you help me, please?"

The driver's mate took von Werra to Codnor Park station.

They reached Codnor Park LMS station about 5.30 a.m., where the driver handed him over to the signalman, Mr. R. W. Harris, of South Street, Riddings. But the signal box was not connected with the public telephone. Mr. Harris suggested he wait until the booking clerk came on duty; there was a GPO telephone in the booking office.

Mr. Sam Eaton, the booking clerk, arrived shortly before six, and the signalman handed von Werra over to him.

Von Werra retold his story and stressed that he must get to the nearest RAF station.

Mr. Eaton rang the police first, but before they arrived von Werra persuaded Mr. Eaton to ring RAF Hucknall and request that they send transport for him. Before this arrived, the police entered the ticket office. Von Werra managed to convince the plain-clothes police that his story was genuine and was thankful when the RAF vehicle arrived.

After he arrived at the aerodrome, the RAF driver drove von Werra to the Adjutant's office where he was met by Squadron Leader Boniface, the Acting Duty Officer.

Squadron Leader Boniface was suspicious of von Werra's story but agreed to telephone Dyce aerodrome, where von Werra said he was based, for them to confirm his story. Whilst he was on the telephone, von Werra slipped out of the office.

He sprinted back along the road he had travelled in the RAF vehicle. There was not a soul in sight. When he reached the perimeter track he turned left, towards a group of camouflaged hangars and a gaggle of Hurricanes.

He slowed down to a walk near the first hangar, at the front of which construction work was being carried out. Builders looked down at him curiously from scaffolding. He dodged between a cement mixer and a heap of ballast, almost bumping into a labourer cutting open a cement bag.

He was out of sight of Headquarters. He did not start running again but walked briskly, purposefully. Past a wrecked aircraft and a row of twin-engined bombers. They were no good to him, but ahead he saw a line of Hurricanes. Unknown to von Werra he had walked into the Rolls-Royce part of the aerodrome, and he was then mistaken for a delivery pilot, who had come to ferry a Hurricane to White Waltham. He was accosted by a mechanic who took him to the manager. He was taken to a small gatehouse behind a hangar and asked to sign the visitors' book. This he did, and, returning to the tarmac, persuaded a mechanic to give him a run over the controls, whilst 'his paper work was fixed up'. Sitting in the cockpit waiting for the mechanic to bring the accumulator to start the engine, Squadron Leader Boniface caught up with him, and, at revolver point, he climbed out of the aircraft.

When he was taken back to the RAF Adjutant's office he confessed who he was. He was given some breakfast whilst awaiting his police escort, and then taken to Nottingham Police Headquarters where he spent twenty-four hours in a cell. A military escort then arrived to return him to Swanwick. Here he was sentenced to fourteen days solitary confinement.

Top row left: Today's view from the waste ground to the room where the tunnel was started. Centre: THE FILM. 'Von Werra' enters the tunnel.
Right: Codnor Park station photographed by the editor in 1968. The booking office was through the left-hand door.
Bottom row left: THE FILM. Hardy Kruger with Julian Somers portraying Mr. Sam Eaton, the booking clerk.
Centre: THE FILM. Von Werra 'signs in' at Hucknall.
Right: Sergeant Major Wilkinson examines the entry in the visitor's book in his office in 1941. (Rolls Royce).

Above: The editor with Sergeant Major Wilkinson, now retired, return to Hucknall and are standing on the spot where the Hurricane was parked. Von Werra came down the perimeter track on the left, past the hangars. (Rolls Royce).
Left: THE FILM. Actually filmed at Northolt.

CANADA

It had already been decided to move all the German prisoners to Canada and this was announced to them on Christmas Eve 1940. The move was made early in January 1941.

They were transferred by coaches to Butterley railway station. From there a long train journey ended at Greenock station on the Clyde.

The train pulled into Greenock station. On a neighbouring platform stood two long lines of German prisoners—NCOs and men from camps for ORs.

A large passenger ship was moored alongside the quay, the *Duchess of York*, of the Canadian Pacific Line.

Von Werra was placed in Cabin 35 under armed guard until the ship sailed on January 10, 1941.

On board were 250 German officers and 800 other ranks, together with over 1000 RAF recruits who were going to Canada to train under the Empire Air Training Scheme.

After a few days, von Werra began to think seriously about how to escape. Plans were made to take over control of the ship, if the escort of the battleship *Ramillies* and more than a dozen other ships, departed.

However, *Ramillies* stayed with the *Duchess of York* all the way to Halifax harbour where the prisoners disembarked and were searched in the customs hall.

From there they proceeded, officers to the left, men to the right, between long double rows of armed soldiers to two trains, each of fourteen coaches standing one behind the other in a siding.

Von Werra had already decided to try and escape from the train. They steamed out of Halifax at 7.30 p.m. It was snowing heavily. The double windows of the train were almost completely covered with frost and ice, but the interior of the coaches was heated.

It soon became known that the German officers were being taken to a new camp on the north shore of Lake Superior, Ontario. Because von Werra was planning to try to escape to the United States, he decided that it would be best to try to escape as late as possible in the journey. This would give a chance for the excitement of any other escape attempt to die down. Above all, he did not want to get off the train in the backwoods. The point where he escaped must be reasonably close to the US border, within reach of main roads, and not too far from human habitation. The obvious choice was somewhere between Montreal and Ottawa.

He decided the only way from the train was through a carriage window, and because of the height of these from the carriage floor, it meant he would have to dive out head first.

During the next twenty-four hours of the journey von Werra gradually thawed out the window by opening the inside a fraction, and letting warm air melt the ice. The heating was turned up to maximum when they left Montreal to accelerate the process. Then whilst other prisoners distracted the guards, von Werra opened the inner window. The remaining ice on the outer window was now fully exposed to the heat which thawed the window completely by the time the train made a stop at the next station. Because one window was now clear and all the rest still iced up, it stood out like a gap in a row of teeth. Luckily for von Werra this was not noticed by the guards on the platform. The train started off again.

On a prearranged signal, the German sitting next to von Werra stood up and opened a blanket, holding it by the corners as if to fold it up. At this moment von Werra opened the window and dived out.

It was not until the following afternoon that his escape was noticed—during the journey seven other Germans escaped from the train but all were subsequently recaptured.

He had jumped off the train near Smith Falls, Ontario, and had thirty miles to cover to the St. Lawrence river which at that part of Canada forms the border with the United States.

From a map he had obtained from a garage he saw that the nearest crossing point of the St. Lawrence River was at Prestcott. When he arrived there he found, of course, that the river was frozen over. He then had high hopes of just walking across. He could see the lights of a town on the American side which he thought to be Ogdensburg.

He walked two miles along the river bank and started to cross, and on reaching the centre, with disappointment he found an ice-free channel barring the way.

Returning to the Canadian bank, he searched a deserted holiday camp and found an upturned rowing boat.

After a tremendous struggle he managed to right the boat and started to push it, a little at a time, towards the river. After a supreme effort he managed to reach the ice-free channel and launch the boat.

When he reached the American bank he found himself near the New York State Hospital at Ogdensburg. He then surrendered to the first American policeman he saw.

When he proved to the police, by his uniform and possessions, that he was an escaped German prisoner of war they handed him over to the Immigration Authorities.

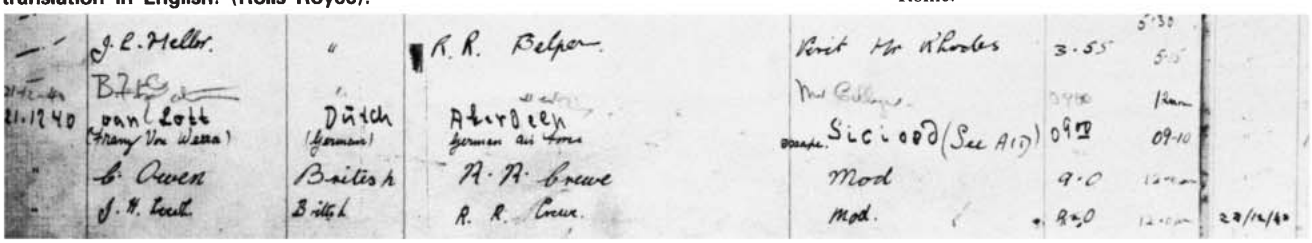
He was charged with entering the United States illegally. At this stage of the war, January 24, 1941, the United States had not entered the war and von Werra was only the third German prisoner of war to escape from Canada to America. Whilst the first had managed to return to Germany via Japan and Russia the second was handed back to the Canadians.

Von Werra, anxious that the same fate should not befall him, contacted the German Consul in New York. Tremendous publicity and newspaper reports of his exploits, which when told by von Werra, were highly exaggerated, made his name a household word in the United States.

Hitler awarded him the Knight's Cross of the Iron Cross whilst he was in New York for an earlier, yet unproven, flying achievement.

The legal tussle by the British and Canadian Authorities for his return went on until on April 23, after a stay in secrecy at the German Vice-Consul's home, it was discovered that he had returned to Germany. He had reached Berlin via El Paso, Mexico City, Panama, Rio de Janeiro, Barcelona and Rome.

The entry in the now missing Rolls Royce visitor's book. Somebody had added a cryptic translation in English! (Rolls Royce).



Left: An icebreaking ship travels across the frozen St. Lawrence between Prestcott and Ogdensburg. (E. Baxter). Above: THE FILM. The window defrosting scene with the prisoner ready to hold out the blanket.

The film 'The One That Got Away' is based on the book of the same name by Kendal Burt and James Leasor. Every page is full of facts which took months of research. The film, having this as a perfect basis, was able to accurately portray the story without licence.

During an interview, Julian Wintle, the producer of the film, told the editor of his desire to use the original locations where possible. A replica Me 109 was made by Pinewood studios from drawings sent from Germany for the crash sequence which was filmed in a field next to the studios at Iver, Buckinghamshire. The actual field near Curtisden Green in Kent has had an orchard planted over it and the trees are now fully grown, obliterating the exact crash site.

Unfortunately the cells at the police headquarters at Sutton Road, Maidstone, where von Werra was taken after the crash, can no longer be seen as the building has been altered considerably, but the cells at Maidstone Barracks where he spent the night still stand. The exercise yard wall has gone, but fixings remain in the walls which held the coils of barbed wire on top. Nowadays the cell is not used for prisoners — the duty sergeant sleeps there at night!

The London District POW Cage was at 8 Kensington Palace Gardens. It was demolished about five years ago after standing empty for years, and now a block of luxury flats occupies the site.

Cockfosters, the RAF Interrogation Centre in Trent Park, is now a Teachers' Training Centre. Signs of its wartime role still remain. Around the doors hooks in the wall remain where barbed wire was fixed and a ruined pillbox stands on the rear lawn.

In 1957 the film company discovered Grizedale Hall, in the Lake District, was still standing. Here they recreated authentic scenes by replacing the watch towers and barbed wire. The hall had stood empty since 1949, when the previous lease ran out, and the Forestry Commission, who own the site, decided to demolish it after the film crew left in 1957. Now only the terrace remains and the area is used as a camping site organised by the Camping Club of Great Britain.

Von Werra's first escape was filmed at the exact place where it happened and our picture shows a scene from the film, and After the Battle's editor stretching out on the same wall in 1973!

Changes come slowly to the Lake District and the whole escape scene in this area remains as it was. We traced von Werra's route, from where he squeezed through the hazel hedge by the road bordering the wood, to where he was first recaptured by the two Home Guard men in a stone cottage on Stainton Ground at Hoses Farm. Mr. Hill and his family pointed out the exact building where he was caught and where he escaped again on the road.

Likewise on Hesk Fell, Mr. Youdale, who still works the same ground as in 1940, pointed out the exact bull-rushes where von Werra was trying to hide. Whilst our picture in 1973 shows the exact spot, because this is a stiff 500-ft climb, a mile from the nearest road, the film company chose a more convenient place for Hardy Kruger to lie in the mud!

After the war, the Hayes POW camp at Swanwick reverted to the conference centre it had been since 1911. Used as a Prisoner of War camp in both world wars, it bears no traces of the watch towers and wire which surrounded it.

An interesting point is that after the tunnel was discovered by the British Authorities, the whole ground floor of the garden house was concreted over.

The room from which the tunnel was dug can be seen and the patch of ground where it emerges near the farm buildings. The concrete manhole, where the earth from the tunnel was hidden, is now overgrown on the lawn outside the Garden House. The scenes for the tunnel escape were all reconstructed and filmed in the studios.

Gerrards Cross station, conveniently near the studios, was used for the scenes at Codnor Park station. In 1968 we visited Codnor Park station, which although disused, was still standing. The station has now been completely demolished, but we were able to buy the ticket counter and waiting room seat from British Railways for £5!

At Hucknall there are still the remains of the old RAF Camp, now used by a transport company. The office is still in use where von Werra signed the Rolls-Royce visitors' book on December 21, 1940, but Rolls-Royce told us that the book has been missing for the past ten years. Sergeant Major Wilkinson returned with After the Battle's editor in 1973 and with the permission of Rolls-Royce the photograph reproduced on page 49 was taken.

Because of the security problem at Hucknall, J. Arthur Rank's when making the film had to use Northolt for the aerodrome scenes. Even in 1957, Julian Wintle says, they had difficulty in obtaining a Hurricane.

The Canadian scenes were filmed 200 miles north of Stockholm and the river crossing recreated in the Pinewood studios on one of their largest stages.

Left: The real von Werra with his frostbitten ears bandaged, is met by a German Consular official (with newspaper), at Grand Central Station, New York City. (Associated Press). Many Canadians were shocked over the publicity given to von Werra on his arrival in the USA. The Canadian authorities tried to have him returned, a fate which had happened to a previous escapee.
Below: THE FILM. Hardy Kruger on location for the Canadian escape scenes north of Stockholm, Sweden.

AFTER THE BATTLE

PERSONALITY

Major Glenn Miller

When American band leader Glenn Miller disappeared in unexplained circumstances in December 1944, the world not only lost a superb musician, but a dedicated master of his craft at the peak of a professional career. The aircraft he took on that fateful day has never been found, despite extensive searches and many false 'finds', the most recent being as late as September this year.

Glenn Miller first joined a full time band at 17 and through the 1920s and early 30s, established himself as an arranger and trombonist. The famous sax sound was 'discovered' in 1935 and four years later, the third band under his leadership was broadcasting regularly, making numerous personal appearances, and had made two films prior to the US entry into WWII.

Miller entered the army and was eventually allowed to form his own military band. Moral-boosting concerts at home were not, however, the way Miller saw his band being used to directly help the war effort and on July 29, 1944, it landed at Gourock, Scotland. The band was to be the US contribution to the Allied Expeditionary Forces radio network in England, due to commence on D-Day plus One. Billeted at 25, Sloane Square, the band had a narrow escape when a flying bomb destroyed the building only days after it had left for Bedford.

Above: Concentration on the rostrum as Glenn Miller demonstrates the quality of leadership that made his band world famous. (R. Taylor)

Personal appearances at army camps, air bases and hospitals gave US servicemen an important "hunk o' home" as Miller himself called it, and in November 1944 he obtained permission to take the band to France to give concerts in combat rest areas.

The Miller band was scheduled to fly to France on December 16, preceded by Lieutenant Don Haynes on the 15th to make the final arrangements. Miller however, decided to go ahead of the unit, taking Haynes' place, to tie up the duration of the band's stay on the Continent.

Bad weather had caused all flights to Paris to be cancelled, but Miller learned that Lieutenant Colonel Norman Basselle, whom he had met before, was flying to the French capital on the 15th and accepted the offer of a seat.

Haynes drove Miller and Basselle to RAF Twinwoods Farm, near Bedford, and even though the weather had deteriorated, Basselle elected to attempt the flight. A Noorduyn C-64 Norseman landed at 13.45 and, piloted by John R. S. Morgan, took off with the two men into the fog.

Three days later, three Dakotas landed at Orly with the band and it was only then that Haynes learned that Glenn Miller's aircraft had not reported in. With a Christmas concert due, the next nine days were spent combing Paris and telephoning England. Air searches failed to locate the missing aircraft and finally, SHAEF announced on Christmas Eve that Major Glenn Miller was 'missing in flight'.

No trace was ever found of the Norseman carrying the band leader and his two companions; theories as to the cause of the crash have been many, the most likely centering on icing of the aircraft's wing, carburettor or propellor shaft. Had icing caused the machine to ditch in the Channel, the occupants — even if they managed to leave the aircraft — would have had little chance of survival in the sea.

Above: The Glenn Miller band played to packed houses during visits to US bases in the UK. Here, 'the boss' is part of the trombone line up. (R. Taylor).

Checks ruled out the possibility that enemy or allied aircraft could have shot the Norseman down, as little air activity was reported in the vicinity.

Ever since then, people have tried to locate a crash site to finally clear up the mystery. For Lancashire-based businessman John Edwards the search for Glenn Miller's aircraft has become a real challenge, as he believes that some unplayed scores were carried in a briefcase on that last flight. True or not, attempts to find what little must now remain of the aircraft continue. In September, an unnamed Briton claimed to have found the Norseman in the Pas de Calais with the wreckage of a boat nearby. It was reported that parts of the engine were identified as being from the aircraft in question, but within 48 hours, French officials denied the story completely.

Undoubtedly others will try to determine just how Glenn Miller died, although the majority of the Glenn Miller Society's 1,000 members would rather they let the matter rest.

R. TAYLOR.

Left: A Noorduyn C-64 Norseman of the type in which Glenn Miller made his last flight. A rugged utility aircraft, it remained in production throughout the war, over 700 being built. (R. Taylor).

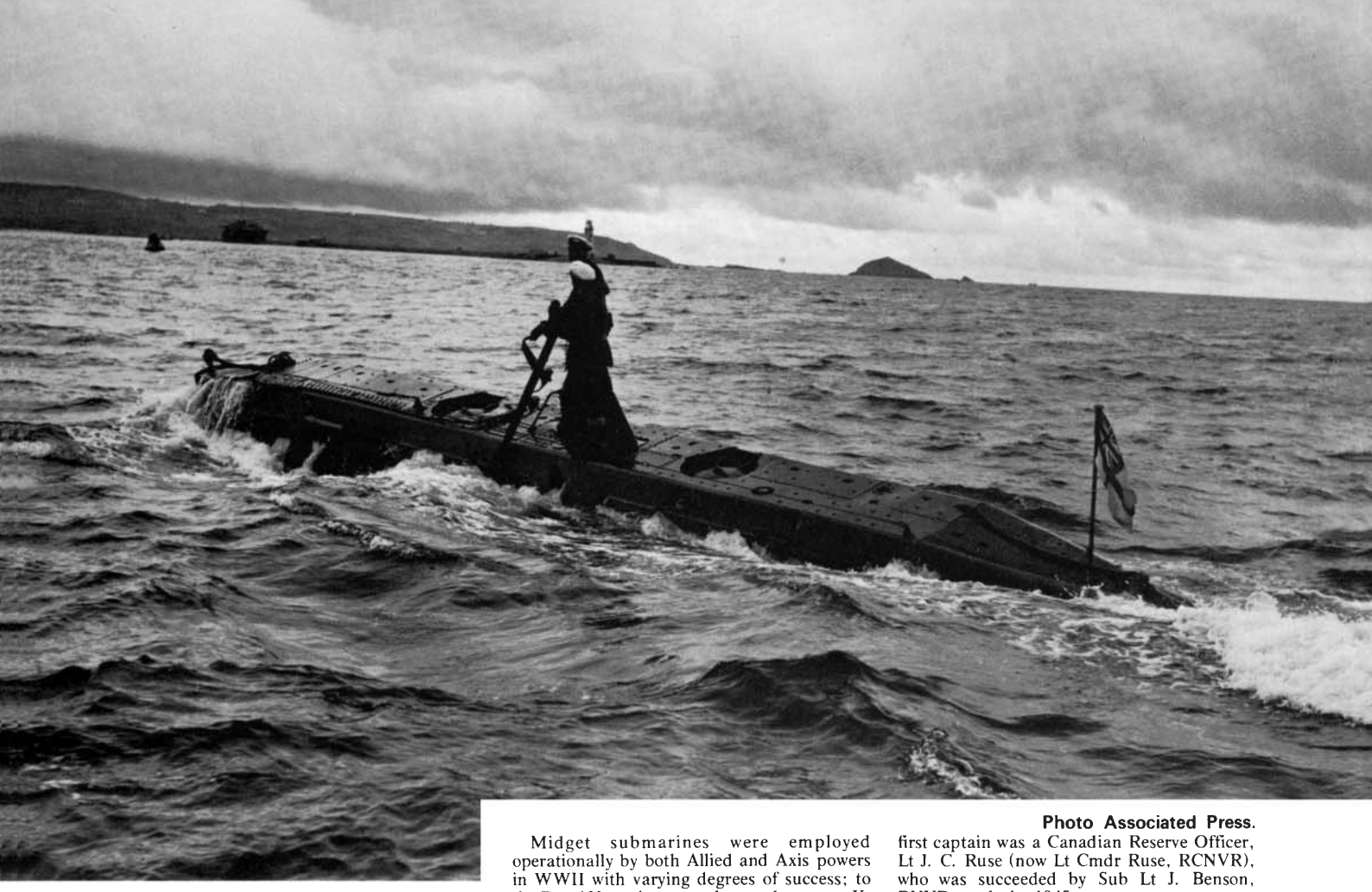
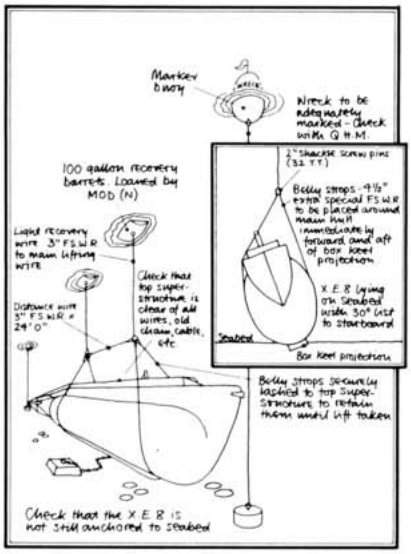


Photo Associated Press.

AFTER THE BATTLE

WRECK RECOVERY

Raising the XE8


Marker buoy
Wreck to be adequately marked - Check with G.H.M.
100 gallon recovery barrels. Loaned by MOD (N)
Light recovery wire 3" F.S.W.R to main lifting wire
Distance wire 3" F.S.W.R = 24'0"
Check that top super-structure is clear of all wires, old clean, cable, etc
Scabord
Box keel protection
Belly stops securely lashed to top Super-Structure to retain them until lift taken
Check that the X.E.8 is not still anchored to Seabed

Midget submarines were employed operationally by both Allied and Axis powers in WWII with varying degrees of success; to the Royal Navy these vessels were known as X-craft and no less than four Victoria Crosses were won by their crews—two for disabling the German battleship *Tirpitz* in Altenfjord in 1943 and two for sinking the Japanese heavy cruiser *Takao* in 1945.

These attacks were made by 'X' and 'XE' craft respectively, 12 of the improved latter type having been introduced for service in the last year of the war. Of these, the XE-8—the XE-1 and XE-3 having made the strike against the *Takao*—had completed her working-up trials only in May 1945 and was too late to see action. In 1950 she went into reserve and four years later was adapted as an underwater submarine target for training purposes.

The Navy planned to anchor the XE-8 to the sea bed and suspend her in buoyant condition just above the bottom, but whilst being towed, she sank about three miles off Portland, where she rested until this year.

In 1971, my team and I had recovered Bristol Beaufighter T3249 from the sea off Portland and, as well as learning a good deal, we had a lot of fun. I became interested in the X-craft and decided to try to test the resources of amateur divers by recovering it.

The XE class of midget submarines were four to five-man vessels, 53 ft. long, with a beam of 5.75 ft., weighing up to 35 tons. Power came from a Gardiner diesel engine, giving a speed of around six knots. Each was armed with two 2-ton saddle charges, which could be dropped under or adjacent to ships and were detonated by a time fuse.

A continuous upper deck line identified XE-craft from the earlier X and XT versions, the deck terminating in curved bull-nose bow. The resultant added space enabled extra stores to be carried externally, and, being designed for tropical use, crew comfort was improved by the inclusion of refrigeration and an air-conditioning plant. Manufacturers were Broadbents Ltd of Huddersfield.

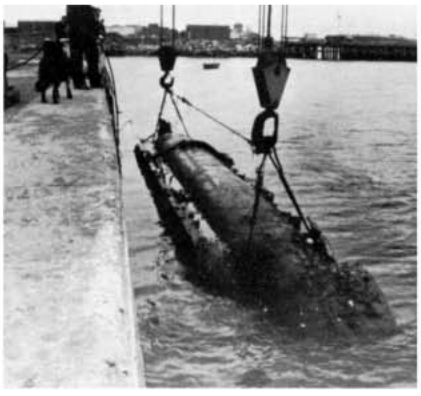
Upon completion, XE-8 joined the 12th Submarine Flotilla and operated at *HMS Varbel*, out of Loch Shriven, Scotland. Her first captain was a Canadian Reserve Officer, Lt J. C. Ruse (now Lt Cmdr Ruse, RCNVR), who was succeeded by Sub Lt J. Benson, RNVR, early in 1945.

When *HMS Varbel* was paid off on 14 May, 1945, the XE-8 was the last operational vessel of her type in Scotland. She left to go into reserve at Fort Blockhouse, Portsmouth, where she joined the 5th Submarine Flotilla. After the war, her duties were to provide, with XE-9 and -12, training facilities for a nucleus of officers and ratings familiar with her class. After being moved to Devonport in 1949, she went into reserve in 1950 and was towed to Portsmouth four years later, on 3 November. It was during this voyage that the XE-8 sank.

An attempt made to moor the craft on the seabed failed, and *HMS Uplifter* apparently tried to recover her shortly after she sank, but without success, due to one of the heavy lifting cables breaking. The remaining cables were dropped back on to the seabed, where we found them during the recovery operation 18 years later. She was used by the Navy for target work in the meantime, mainly by vessels fitted with Asdic and Side-Scan Sonar.

EXPLORATORY DIVES

Armed with the exact location of the sunken midget sub—50.33.02 N and 02.21.06 W—I approached various bodies with the idea of recovering it. The assistant director of the



Imperial War Museum proved very enthusiastic and the Navy gave the museum permission to take the craft once it was raised.

On 5 December, 1971, we made the first dive to test conditions and were immediately aware of strong currents in the area. The sea bottom was at 85 ft. and very dark, necessitating the use of torches and after some searching, we drew a blank. The next sorties was in June 1972, with nine divers carrying out a search.

By that time I had talked with the Royal Naval Salvage Depot in Whitehall and outlined the recovery operation necessary to raise the XE-8. This involved either the use of either lifting bags or pontoons or the sealing of the submarine's damaged areas and blowing it full of compressed air. After discussing the part to be played by amateur divers, it was decided that the Navy would do the actual lifting job, using a recovery vessel of the *HMS Kinloss* or *Kinbrace* type, with us carrying out the preliminary work.

The Navy operation would be by heavy cable and mechanical lift and the IWM would handle the cost of cranage out of the sea and road transportation. In the initial timetable, we undertook to survey the craft—which no one had seen as yet—and confirm her condition. Some urgency was injected into the programme early in September when we learned that the recovery vessel was due for a refit after that month and would not be available again until late November or early December.

After five more attempts to find our target with the aid of vessels equipped with Decca Navigator, we still drew a blank. More unsuccessful searches were to follow before Cliff Rudrum, owner of the *Hebridean*, joined us. With the sophisticated electronic aids of this motor cruiser, we finally found and marked the XE-8 late in August. Not that our carefully-placed marker buoys were to stay in position long—we had to replace them twice before the operation proper got under way.

However, we had found the sub and were pleased to see that she was in a remarkably good state of preservation; fouled lifting cables would have to be removed from her before new cables and two belly strops were attached with a spreader wire between each. Each strop would be supported by 100-gal recovery barrels supplied by the MoD(Navy).

We positioned two 40-gal oil drums as markers over the spot and the Navy laid a small pellet buoy nearby. The team returned again to have another look before the weekend of our September deadline, which was rapidly being overtaken by events, added to which the Navy said that *Kinbrace* might have to go to Malta. In the first week of October, a gale removed all trace of the markers and despite more diving expeditions in deteriorating weather, we had 'lost' the XE-8 again.

POSTPONEMENT

It was with this latest setback in mind that we decided to put off the recovery operation until February 1973 with a new deadline set for 31 March. The date was really decided by the IWM, which had until then to include the XE-8 recovery in its 1972 fiscal year budget.

Plans were made in the meantime to firmly mark the submarine's location and make final arrangements for the craft once it had been successfully beached. As expected, *Kinbrace* had gone in for refit and was not likely to be ready before Christmas and, weather permitting, we carried on the search-and-mark operation.

In the event, we were nearing our second dealine by the time XE-8 was located again—on 10 March. This time she was marked and fixed firmly and I advised Commander Alan Bax at Bovisand, who had previously offered his services to help blow off the old lifting cables with plastic explosive. This part of the work was carried out with few problems and by 24 March, we were back on site, accompanied by underwater cameramen.

By now we were ready to carry out the prearranged procedure of attaching the belly strops, which entailed carrying out a cable, looping it to the marker buoy cable tied to the end of the 'bomb' tailfin of the sub and then slide the whole lot down to the seabed.

Then we experienced another problem, human this time, rather than technical or navigational. A number of members of the team were found to be suffering from narcosis, brought on by immersion in cold dark water. Nevertheless the strops were successfully attached to the buoy line and dropped on to the sea bed ready for the actual lift.

The preliminary work was carried out by a number of diving teams and we found that there were problems in co-ordinating the work each was to do, difficulties in judging the amount of marker movement in winter swells and in inter-team communication. Also, narcosis was revealing an inability to work efficiently—at the very least, the hazards were a challenge which we were determined to meet.

It then became obvious that the 31 March deadline would have to be extended yet again, and fortunately the IWM gave us a few more weeks—at least we were getting somewhere now, but only being able to work on weekends meant an inevitably extended operation.

On Sunday 1 April, after waiting for a squall to subside, our first diving team managed to locate and feed a wire attached to the buoyline into the XE-8 tailfin and lay it out on the seabed with its shackle. Unfortunately this particular line should have been on the bow of the sub but the next team managed to relocate it. The weather wasn't helping at all, in fact it deteriorated into a Force 10 gale on the Monday and, to cap it all, the XE-8 marker was lost again.

On 14 April, armed with a much lighter buoyline than we had used before, the XE-8 was marked for the umpteenth time.

We still had to finally attach the stern belly strop and secure the two heavy lifting cables, and after many problems we finally managed it on 12 and 13 May, ready for *HMS Kinbrace* to carry out the actual lift. On the 15th, *Kinbrace* left Portland at 10.00 and after laying a seven-ton concrete weight as a strain anchor, the ship drifted over the XE-8 site and retrieved the two marker buoys over her bow. Once the cable ends had been secured, lifting gear pulled in about 30 ft. of line. XE-8 rose free of the seabed. A second pull at about 13.00 and the midget sub came within 15 feet of the surface and could be seen clearly.

After recovering her stern anchor, *Kinbrace* slowly steamed into Portland Harbour and positioned herself against Castletown Pier to deposit the XE-8 on her starboard side in 11 ft. of water, about 3 ft. from the pier wall. Heavy lifting cables were secured ashore and the ship backed away and returned to the dockyard at 19.30—the end of a long hard day.

We had managed to thoroughly inspect the submarine when she was in such shallow water, and opened up her main hatch cover.

On May 29, two big Sparrows cranes arrived on the pier and she was lifted out of the water at 12.30. The quayside bore the weight of the cranes, the XE-8 and the water she held and our prize was finally laid on her starboard side on the quay. The lift was covered by the press, radio and TV and later that afternoon the XE-8 was moved by low-loader to the aerodrome at Duxford, Cambridge, where the IWM now stores intended exhibits. I saw her in October after she had been cleaned externally and her condition looked exceptionally good after steam cleaning and sand blasting and being zinc sprayed and red-leaded. Her eventual exhibition site had not been decided at time of writing, but the museum staff were very pleased with our handiwork.

My thanks are extended to all the many friends and colleagues without whose help the XE-8 recovery operation would not have been possible; the job was fraught with difficulties and presented amateur divers with technical problems and weather conditions that only determination overcame. It also gave the teams a chance to work in close co-operation with the Royal Navy, which was in itself a unique opportunity for British Sub Aqua Club divers. To everyone involved, I say thank you for XE-8.

PETER CORNISH, BSAC

Peter Cornish is the National Coach for the British Sub Aqua Club East Anglian area. He has organised several wreck recovery operations both in the United Kingdom and abroad. He was responsible, together with an RAF team, for raising a Halifax from a lake in Norway earlier in 1973, which is now the sole exhibit of this type of aircraft in the world.

Above: Peter Cornish (right), with members of the team aboard HMS Kinbrace.
Left bottom: The XE8 about to be raised onto the quayside.
Below: The XE8 reaches dry land. (P. Cornish).

Fröhliche Eiszeit mit
EISKREM
EISKREM
Der Mahlzeit
besler Schluß